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ART. I.—*Life of John Calvin.* By Thomas H. Dyer. 8vo. London: J. Murray.

FOR men to 'build the tombs of the prophets' is not always a satisfactory proof that they are of another spirit than their 'fathers' who 'killed them.' And yet the attention given, in these days, to the lives and the writings of the heroes and soldiers of the Great Reformation, strikes us as a favourable sign, rather than the reverse; for, with some exceptions, the memoirs are not mere panegyrics; and the republication of the *ipsissima verba* of these men shows some desire to learn the secret of the power with which they vindicated God's truth, and thus brought about that religious revolution which undoubtedly ranks next, in the magnitude of its results, to the introduction of the gospel by the Son of God.

There is another aspect under which these 'Lives' of Reformers, and labours of the 'Parker,' and other societies, may be viewed. Before great movements amongst men, the spirits that feel their coming almost unconsciously look back to the story of former movements, as if to verify the indications of their approach, so to be assured in expecting them; or for guidance in the part they should take in them. And many more 'stand,' as Lord Bacon enjoined, 'in the old ways;' though not with his intent, of looking out thence, as from a point of

'vantage, to discover the *best* way, and of going on in that with cheerful earnestness ; for, in the hope of assuaging their fear of change, they maintain that those earlier changes would have brought saving health to all men, had the purposes of the great actors in them been but rightly perceived and carried out. And thus, they too contribute their share of excitation to the general mind, and direct others to the means of preventing their eagerness for novelty from becoming immoderate, and of divining truly what the nature of 'the Great Birth of Time,' which their hearts devoutly anticipate, will be.

With these views, we regard the work before us as a valuable contribution to English theological literature. Its worth is the greater that it is the first *original* biography of the great Genevese Reformer in our language ; for the recent translation of Dr. Paul Henry's 'Life of Calvin,' by Dr. Stebbing, has, in addition to the general disqualification of translations—that they rarely convey the author's meaning exactly—the serious fault of the omission of many notes and appendices, in which were given copies of documents of the highest value in enabling the reader to estimate the correctness of the representations of motives and conduct given in the text. We are bound, also, to say that, whilst Dr. Henry's *own* work contains all the materials by which an honest and careful reader might form for himself a very accurate picture of Calvin and his work, and though Dr. Henry is, for a professed admirer of Calvin, almost singularly candid, the criticism of Mr. Dyer, in his preface, is too well deserved ; 'the bias of a probably unconscious prejudice has evidently led him, now and then, to keep some circumstances in the background, and to represent others in a light not entirely in accordance with the evidence.' (P. vii.) It is, moreover, even as abridged by Dr. Stebbing, far too prolix.

Mr. Dyer's work is based upon Calvin's correspondence ; and what is wanting in that is supplied from Dr. Paul Henry's 'Leben Calvins,' Ruchat's elaborate 'Histoire de la Réformation de la Suisse,' Mosheim's 'Geschichte Servets,' Trechsel's 'Antitrinitarier,' Grénus' 'Fragmens Historiques,' and 'Biographiques,' and other works of deserved and established reputation. By referring directly to the public records, and other original documents, which have been accumulated by these continental writers, Mr. Dyer has been able to set many doubtful points of Calvin's life in so clear a light, that no further question can arise respecting them ; and if the results of his labours should disappoint the expectations of those who know the founder of the Genevese Church-order and theology only by the accounts that have been given of him by ardent and indiscriminating admirers, they will be welcomed by all who desire

to have a faithful picture of the man and of his work; and such readers are increasing in number daily. It is not a slight excellence in this volume, that there are no discussions of the questions in ecclesiastical and civil polity, in ritual observances, and doctrines, which must needs occur so frequently in such a life; the writer has confined himself to the simple narration of what was done, and determined, and taught by the Reformer; so that it may fairly be designated a 'standard' 'Life of Calvin.' The spirit of the book is justly described thus in the concluding paragraph:—

'I have endeavoured to represent the life of Calvin impartially, neither concealing his virtues nor exaggerating his faults. The terms of unqualified and extravagant admiration in which some of his recent biographers speak of him, seem to me to be neither consistent with facts, nor of wholesome example. This unbounded veneration for remarkable men—this hero-worship—is a sign rather of weakness than of strength. A mind that suffers itself to be dazzled by some brilliant qualities, is unable to take that steady view which is necessary to the just estimation of a character; and in viewing the leaders of great religious movements, this seems to me to be particularly dangerous. It is to be hoped that the days of persecution and intolerance are gone, never to return; but if ever they are to be revived, it is such a spirit that will lead to them. A lapse of three centuries has afforded time enough to mellow opinion; and this should be essentially the age of impartiality and moderation.'—Pp. 539, 540.

Although we cannot agree with all that Mr. Dyer says here, we can testify that he has maintained his impartiality in a way that is astonishing in the treatment of such a subject; and we point out the only passages in which this excellent rule appears to us to have been violated, with the hope that in another edition there may not be a word to divert the thoughts of the reader from the biography to the biographer. It would be better not to speak of 'a *genuine or affected* penitence' (p. 91), as one reason for Calvin's not immediately becoming a minister at Strasburgh, when he was banished from Geneva; for, though he admitted to Grynæus that the Church of Christ at Geneva had been thus ruined by his own 'grievous fault,' he might well be excused for insisting, to Farel, on the 'innocence and purity' with which he had laboured; and his whole course after his return shows that he neither repented, nor affected to repent, for what he had done before. At page 362, note *, after the text of one of Calvin's letters, in which he instructs the Duchess of Ferrara that an oath taken under constraint need not be kept, Mr. Dyer says, 'these *reservations* became characteristic of the Puritans.' Now this remark is wholly uncalled for, and Dr. Maitland, who is referred to in support of it, can hardly be held

to prove so sweeping a condemnation of the best men England has ever seen. When Calvin writes to Farel about his imprudent marriage, and asks him to consider if it would tend to '*edification*,' he is said to use 'a jargon peculiar to the elect' (p. 468); although it is so evident that the expression is borrowed from the Apostle Paul. In explaining the rapidity of the progress of Calvinism in France, the biographer says, 'the custom of psalm-singing, too, was not without its effect on a lively and susceptible nation; though in this case our imagination must not wander to the nasal melody of our own tabernacles.' This last sentence is quite irrelevant, and beneath the dignity of the subject; and it is well known that the style of singing ridiculed is not the peculiarity of dissident congregations, but of all congregations, whether in church or conventicle, where taste and skill in music have not been cultivated.

We have further to say, in commendation of this volume, that three-fourths of it are taken up with the story of Calvin's labours after his final settlement at Geneva; so that whilst no part of the work is unpleasantly brief, that which treats of the matter of greatest moment is so ample as to leave nothing more to be desired. Slight, but interesting, sketches of the chief opponents and friends of Calvin add greatly to its value; and a well-engraved copy of Holbein's Dresden portrait gives no little aid in the study of the Reformer's character.

The principal incidents in Calvin's life are so familiar to all our readers that we need not narrate them now; and it is most true, as Mr. Dyer remarks, that 'the vicissitudes of personal fortune form but a minor subject of contemplation in the history of those destined to mould the opinions and principles of men.' (P. 4.) There is one aspect of Calvin's work at Geneva which involves so much that concerns our own times, and is so forcibly exhibited in this biography, that we have selected it from the many themes suggested by such a life. We shall, therefore, endeavour to illustrate, by a liberal use of our author's labours, those two great principles, for the defence of which (subordinately only to the maintenance of 'the truth as it is in Jesus') this Review exists—the freedom of religion from the interference and control of the State; and the liberty and obligation of every individual to derive for himself, from the primary sources of religious knowledge, the articles of his faith, without the intervention of Church, or priest, or confession, or creed, or any other falsely-assumed authority over conscience.

In exhibiting Calvin as an ecclesiastical legislator, rather than as a theologian, or as a reformer, we do not forget, and we would not for a moment question, his claims on our reverent gratitude in these respects. Mr. Dyer observes, very justly, in the outset

of his narrative, that 'Calvin's title to be regarded as an original Reformer is eclipsed, in point of priority, as well as in some other particulars, by those of Luther and Zwingli.' 'His part was not acted on so large and conspicuous a theatre as Luther's was, nor does it present us with that boldness of action which distinguished Zwingli, as well as that Reformer.' (P. 4.) Yet was Calvin's work not a whit less distinguished than theirs, in as far as it was the work of one who earnestly loved gospel truth; and the most delightful subject for comment to us would be, the youthful priest in his earliest struggles of conscience, when light first broke in upon his mind, and not only were his worldly prospects all wrecked if he owned it to be light, but perhaps his father's heart tortured with disappointment and anxiety on his account, too;—or the young and distinguished jurist, consulted as one of the first lawyers of the continent, respecting Henry VIII.'s scruples of conscience, but yet without a regret renouncing all the honour and wealth his fame would have secured him, and devoutly studying, night and day, the sacred Scriptures, and preaching in the villages round his new-found Saviour;—or the well-trained scholar, writing, with grave reflection on every word, his immortal work, that Protestant '*Summa Theologiæ*;'—or the long-trying and unswerving man of God, as he stood up in St. Peter's, in the maturity of his knowledge of the truth, and spoke with simplicity and power to multitudes hungering for the bread of life.

But we have proposed to ourselves a particular object, which compels us to turn away from these bright scenes, and to contemplate him as enforcing, with the iron hand of the law, the conclusions of his rigid and passionless logic upon the citizens of Geneva; arrogating the right of priest, and prophet, and oracle combined, to prescribe and regulate the exercise of the duties and charities of a Church of Christ. Not unkindly, not irreverently, we repeat, do we undertake this; nor yet because Mr. Dyer's '*Life of Calvin*' seems to us to display it so clearly, for it would have been easy to have given references for every fact to Dr. Henry's biography of the Reformer. They who see most truly, and deplore most deeply, the things that are taking place around us, will not be slow to acknowledge that the view we have taken is peculiarly a '*Lesson for the Day*.'

One remark on the Reformers and the Reformation generally, suggested by this aspect of Calvin's work, we mention first, as it may prevent mistake respecting our design; and also because we are well assured that the thought it contains must be discerned, and that most clearly, if the goodly field that was first broken up by the heroic toil of Luther and his fellow-labourers, in which they ignominiously cast down so many ancient and wide-

shadowing poison-trees, is to be cleared of their deeply-running roots, and wholly subdued by genuine Christian husbandry to yield its full harvest of blessing to man and praise to God. The great and noble aspect of the Reformation is that which it presents as a revolt against the tyranny over men's souls which the Pope had so long wielded; and its twofold ground—salvation through Christ alone, and the Bible the only authentic record of God's truth for all men—is of everlasting interest and concern. But when the Reformers began to consolidate and organize their victory, instead of genuine and eternal truth, they adopted mere temporary and worldly expedients. They were so much the men of their own day alone, and they so imperfectly apprehended the principles on which they had successfully combated the claims of the Papacy—fear was so predominant over trust—that they adopted almost the very principles of the enemy they had defeated, to establish themselves in their conquests. It was an immense stride in human progress that they made by their deadly struggle; but they themselves effected the reaction. And it is this false step that all true-hearted men, for these three hundred years past, have been endeavouring to retrace; and retraced it must be, at whatever cost, if the conflict with falsehood is to be renewed, and carried beyond the point up to which the Reformers fought and triumphed.

This narrow, and temporary, and false element in Calvin's labours, then, we have set ourselves to exhibit. But we must begin by showing that the Reformation at Geneva owes some of its most distinctive features to the political movements, arising from the old government of the city, and which were so intimately mixed up with those that followed there, as well as elsewhere in Europe, from the proclamation of the newly-recovered Apostolic faith. Not that Geneva could have escaped the political convulsions which desolated Germany with a 'Thirty Years' War,' and inflicted on miserable France a Bartholomew massacre as well as a war, and visited our own country, at the end of a century, with ruthless civil strife and carnage, ending with 'the, alas! too brief substitution of a hero for an imbecile, would-be despot,' but that had Calvin been as generous in his views as Cromwell or Milton, and had no crusade against the Reformation ever been preached, Geneva must have undergone a political revolution, if any number of its citizens received the new light.

'Geneva,' says Mr. Dyer, 'though nominally a fief of the German Empire, had in reality been governed for several centuries by a bishop, whose temporal authority was, however, controlled by certain lay assessors, as well as by the citizens; without whose consent, in General Assembly, he could do nothing. The bishop acknowledged the Count

of Geneva, or rather of the Genevois, as his feudal lord; and an officer called the Vidomne (*vice-dominus*) administered the law in the bishop's name, but as the representative of the count. The house of Savoy, having acquired the rights of the Counts of Geneva by the cession of Odon de Villars in 1401, endeavoured also to get possession of the temporal rights of the bishop. No serious attempts, however, appear to have been made on the independence of Geneva till the time of Charles III., who, in 1504, succeeded to the just Duke Philibert. Charles found a willing tool in Bishop John, a natural son of Francis of Savoy. This prelate ceded all his temporal rights to the Duke of Savoy; but the General Assembly having annulled his proceeding, a bitter and bloody persecution ensued. The city was divided into two factions; that of the *Mamelukes*, which espoused the pretensions of Savoy; and that of the patriots, distinguished by the name of *Eidgenossen*. In order to shelter themselves from the aggressions of the duke, who frequently sought to attain his object by force of arms, the Genevese concluded a treaty of alliance and fellow-citizenship with Friburgh; to which, in 1526, they added another with Berne. In the latter of these cities, the Reformation had already been established through the exertions of Berthold Haller, who began to preach there in 1522; and it was this connexion with Berne which laid the foundation of the Reformation at Geneva.—Pp. 39, 40.

‘The profligate and tyrannical conduct of Peter de la Beaume, who, in 1522, had succeeded to John of Savoy in the see of Geneva, contributed to dispose the Genevese towards the Reformation.’ (P. 41.) In December 1528, the citizens refused obedience to their bishop's letters apostolical, and forbade the recognition of the Archbishop of Vienne and his spiritual court. But ‘it was not till 1532 that there appeared among them any open manifestations in favour of the Reformed doctrines. It having been announced in that year that Pope Clement VII. was about to publish a jubilee, placards were discovered in different parts of Geneva, promising a general pardon of sins on the sole condition of repentance, and a lively faith in the promises of Christ.’ (P. 42.) And in October, of the same year, Farel first entered the city. His adventures we do not recite; but hasten to the overthrow of the bishop's authority and of the acknowledgment of the Pope, which, through Farel's ‘unquenchable ardour’ and ‘masculine eloquence,’ and the diplomacy of Berne, took place on August the 27th, 1535, when the Reformation was virtually established at Geneva; ‘though a more solemn sanction was given to it on the 21st of May, in the following year, when, at the instance of Farel, the citizens were assembled, and an oath administered to them that they would live according to the precepts of the gospel.’ (P. 59.)

The government of Geneva, when it thus became an indepen-

dent state, was not greatly altered in its forms by this revolution; the four annually elected syndics, the ordinary council of sixteen, the assembly of burgesses, and the council of sixty (which had been instituted nearly a century before, to avoid the too frequent convocation of the burgesses), were retained; and another council of two hundred added, in imitation of Friburgh and Berne, after the alliance with those cities in 1526. 'The real power lay almost entirely in the ordinary council, whose constitution rendered it a kind of oligarchy.' 'It is the more necessary to observe this oligarchical tendency,' Mr. Dyer remarks (and this must serve as the reason for our introducing this notice of the Genevese government at all); 'since it was the means which enabled Calvin to carry out his views, and which it was consequently his policy to foster and augment.' It was much more influential also, and so much more serviceable to him, from 'the important functions with which it was invested; since it enjoyed not only the executive, but the judicial and legislative powers.' (P. 62.)

Matters were in this position when Calvin arrived at Geneva, in August 1536, and was constrained by Farel to become his coadjutor. Their first step was to draw up 'a short confession of faith in twenty-one articles, which also comprised some regulations respecting church government. Amongst the latter, the right of excommunication, allowed by the 19th article, was the most important, as it subsequently became the chief instrument of Calvin's spiritual domination, and the cause of the struggles which ensued. In November, this confession, to which Farel had appended the Ten Commandments, was laid before the council of Two Hundred, who ordered it to be printed, to be read in St. Peter's church every Sunday, and the people to be sworn to the observance of it.' (Pp. 65, 66.) But as the oath to observe this confession was administered collectively to the people, it was soon evident that little ground had been gained; next year, therefore, 'Calvin and his colleagues succeeded in persuading the government that it should be offered to them individually. This ceremony accordingly took place in St. Peter's church, on Sunday, the 29th of July, 1537, and following days. After a sermon by Farel, the town secretary mounted the pulpit, and read the confession; after which, the people were brought up by tens, and sworn to the observance of it by the syndics. Many, however, especially among the leading people, refused compliance with what cannot be designated otherwise than as an act of ecclesiastical tyranny.' 'The council, however, were so devoted to the ministers, that at their instance they ordered the disaffected to leave the city. But they were too

numerous to allow of this measure being carried into effect; and the show of such an inclination, without the power of enforcing it, only rendered the malcontents more violent.' (P. 75.)

'Great, indeed, as well as sudden, were the alterations now attempted by the ministers. The transition was almost as abrupt and striking as if a man, after spending all Saturday night at an opera or masquerade, should, without any preparation, walk into a Friends' meeting on the Sabbath morning. The minds of the people had not been prepared for it. Lively and excitable, the Genevese citizen had till recently indulged in an almost unbounded license. He loved dancing and music, and, when the season allowed of it, enjoyed those amusements in the open air. The doors of numerous wine-shops lay always invitingly open; and in rainy weather, or to those whose dancing days were over, offered, in addition to their liquor, the stimulus of a game of cards. Numerous holidays, besides Sundays, released the wearied tradesman from his warehouse or his shop, to seek recreation in the form most agreeable to him. Masquerades and other mummeries were frequent, but, above all, a wedding was the source of supreme excitement and delight. As the bells rung out a joyous carol, the bride repaired to church, surrounded by her female friends and companions, each adorned as fancy led, or as taste admonished, that the charms might be set off to the best advantage; and, on returning home, the *fête* was concluded by feasting, music, dancing, and revelry. Worship, such as it was, showed the cheerful side of religion. No eternal fiat of reprobation haunted the sinner with the thoughts of a doom which it was impossible to escape. Purgatory opened the way to paradise, and purgatory could be abridged by the masses of the priest. Nay, religion shed its benign influence even over the temporal affairs of the devout Catholic; and a few *Credos* and *Pater-nosters*, a little holy water, or an offering at the shrine of the patron saint, was sufficient, or believed to be sufficient, to avert many of the calamities of life. The silver tone of the convent bells, echoing from the mountains, or stealing softly over the tranquil surface of the lake, preserved all within their sound from bad weather, ghosts, enchantments, and even Satan himself. But this magic power they possessed not, unless the priest first consecrated them to the Virgin, their peculiar patroness, and, as it were, ruler of the air. Bells about to be hung were carried to the font dressed out like a child, to be baptized. Sponsors stood for them; and in this guise, as in real baptism, they are sprinkled with water, and smeared with oil and chrism.'—Pp. 75, 76.

But to this animated picture of Catholic Geneva, some darker shades must be added. 'The greatest dissoluteness of manners prevailed. Reckless gaming, drunkenness, adultery, blasphemy, and all sorts of vice and wickedness, abounded. Prostitution was sanctioned by the authority of the state.' 'If the manners of the laity were corrupt, those of the clergy were as bad, or worse. The authentic documents just referred to [the Registers, or

Council Book of Geneva] bear frequent evidence of their profligacy; and during the progress of the Reformation, the Genevese clergy publicly admitted before the council, that they were not learned enough either to maintain or to refute the doctrine of the mass, and the authority of human traditions.' (P. 77.)

The sudden transformation of a population so characterised into a Church of Christ, according to Calvin's idea, in doctrine and discipline; and that by means of an oath to observe a confession of faith in twenty-one articles, enforced by the government through its officers—such was our Reformers' undertaking. 'Nor did they stop there.' 'Cards and dancing, plays and masquerades, were absolutely prohibited, as well as the graver vices before enumerated. All holidays, except Sundays, were abolished, and that was observed with the strictness of the Jewish Sabbath. Marriage was ordered to be solemnized with as little show as possible; instead of the joyous fête it had hitherto been, it was converted into a purely religious ceremony, and sanctified by a sermon.' 'The church-bells were dismantled, and cast into cannon; and thus their cheerful carols converted into the harsh thunder of war. The citizens were strictly enjoined to attend the sermons, and to be at home by nine o'clock in the evening; and tavern-keepers were ordered to see that their customers observed these regulations.' (P. 78.)

Mr. Dyer adds, 'It is not surprising that these unwonted severities should have excited many persons against the ministers.' Not in the least; accordingly—for Geneva did not yet know how invaluable to her, in her new position of political independence, so learned and dispassionate a jurist as Calvin was—in April, 1538, the Reformers were banished; the alleged grounds being (for as in diplomatic strategy and ministerial demissions in our days, the *real* ground was kept studiously out of sight), some differences about the use of stone fonts for baptism; the celebration of the four fêtes of Christmas, New Year's Day, the Annunciation, and the Ascension; and the employment of unleavened bread in the Lord's Supper. (P. 79.)

In September, 1541, Calvin returned to Geneva in triumph. The citizens had discovered their mistake in banishing him; and, happily, it was not too late to retrace their steps. Our author thus admirably sketches Calvin's position and objects at this time.

'From the moment that he first set his foot in Geneva, Calvin could not but have been aware of the advantages offered by his position. An ancient polity fallen to the ground, together with the religion which had been its prop; a priesthood retiring discomfited and disgraced, abandoning at once their sacred office and their secular revenues; a people inflamed with the love of civil and religious liberty,

which in their case was identical, and willing to submit themselves to those who offered to conduct them to both ; a new system of education, of civil laws, and of ecclesiastical government, to be built on the ruins of the old : these were the scattered elements which awaited but the plastic power of some master-spirit to be combined into new and lasting forms. The young republic, though secured, by its position and other circumstances, from the assaults of external enemies, consisted of a small population, and might thus be easily moulded to obey one consistent system of civil and ecclesiastical polity. *To effect this was Calvin's chief aim, from the moment of his return to Geneva. His next object was to render that city the stronghold of Protestantism, in its severest form, and the centre from which it might be propagated throughout Europe. From this period, the history of his life consists of little more than his struggles to accomplish these two objects.*—Pp. 131, 132.

We have italicized the concluding sentences of this paragraph, because we believe that in them lies the whole secret of Calvin's spiritual despotism ; instances of which we shall adduce after we have noticed his proceedings subsequently to his return.

Before he had resumed his place three days 'he had represented to the council the necessity for some scheme of discipline, agreeable to the word of God, and the practice of the ancient Church ; and had laid some heads before them, from which they might gather his general views.'—(P. 132.)

The subject being of too extensive a nature for profitable discussion in the council, a committee of six persons was appointed to confer with him and the ministers respecting it ; and after due formalities, the results of their conference became the ecclesiastical law for Geneva. The following are the features of it, with which we are concerned :—'He allowed no other instrument of interpretation between God and man than the Scriptures, and rejected all traditions, and other human appliances.'—(P. 133.)

'He thus defines a church : "wheresoever the word of God is sincerely preached and heard, and the sacraments administered according to the institution of Christ, there, no doubt, is a church of God ; since his promise cannot fail, that, when two or three are gathered together in his name, he is in the midst of them." The Church, therefore, consisted outwardly of the whole body of the clergy and laity, who are of the same faith in fundamental points ; though, according to Calvin's more esoteric doctrine, the true Church consisted of the elect, who were known only to God.'—P. 132.

He 'inculcated the duty of unconditional submission to the civil power,' excepting in one case, and that was when the commands of the magistrate 'ran contrary to those of God.'—(Pp. 134, 135.)

'Calvin was for an established church ; that is, for a church supported by the civil power. Thus offenders against the laws or doctrine of the Church were, in the last resort, handed over to the secular arm

for punishment: and never was there a church that permitted less deviation from its established rules, even in the minutest points, than that of Calvin. Dissent was punished according to the gravity of the case, with fines, imprisonment, exile, and even death. The connexion between Church and State was strengthened by the admission of laymen to a share of ecclesiastical power. But, though the Church, as a civil institution, was thus connected with the State, Calvin was very careful in separating and distinguishing their respective functions. Each was to be supreme in its peculiar province.' 'The Government, therefore, was not to interfere in purely religious questions; nor, on the other hand, was the Church to assume any of the functions which belong to the civil power. Controverted points of faith were to be finally decided by synods. Calvin would have pushed this principle of non-interference to the point of making the Church independent on the Government for its revenues.'—Pp. 135, 136.

'The Government of the Church was vested in a consistory, composed of six ministers, and twelve lay clergy.' 'One of the syndics was to preside at the meetings of the consistory,' 'but merely as an elder.' 'But Calvin seems to have soon usurped the presidency, and to have retained it till his death.' It 'assembled every Thursday. Its jurisdiction extended to matrimonial causes, and the following offenders were amenable to its censures—namely, blasphemers, drunkards, fornicators, brawlers and fighters, dancers, dancing-masters, and the like; as well as those who spread doctrines at variance with the teaching of the Church of Geneva, and those who neglected divine service, or showed an open contempt for the Church and clergy.'—Pp. 136—148.

He had scarcely finished these ecclesiastical labours when he was required by the council 'to assist in drawing up a code of civil law.' Mr. Dyer thus describes his juridical efforts: 'Calvin made his civil legislation subservient to his scheme of church polity. The object of both was to found a theocratic state, resembling that of the Israelites under Moses, of which he himself was to be the high-priest and prophet.'—(P. 150.) Even Dr. Henry represents his code as more stern than the law of Moses; its spirit may be fairly judged from the fact that the Council of Two Hundred prevented his carrying his severities as far as he was disposed; and from this, that 'he left the old laws against heresy [those in force under the sway of the Bishop!] on the statute-book, as well as the punishment of burning for witchcraft, and the barbarous custom of torture.'—(P. 153.)

It is not needful for us to speak of the Articles of Faith imposed by Calvin on Geneva, which were those developed in his 'Institutes,' for it is not with what is commonly understood by 'Calvinistic divinity' we have now to do. Had his theology been a perfect exhibition of the truth of the gospel, we must still have spoken of its conversion into an authorized creed as an invasion upon the just liberty of man, and upon the proper authority of Christ.

The following passage will serve as an introduction to what

we feel it incumbent to say of the spiritual despotism exercised by Calvin at Geneva :—

‘That the hand of God was indeed in the Reformation no pious Protestant will deny ; and it must also be conceded that there was much in the situation of the first Reformers to inspire them with a high notion of their calling. Around them all the people lay buried in the profoundest ignorance, the grossest superstition, and the utmost corruption of morals. From this state they were suddenly aroused by the preachers of the Reformation ; the effect of whose ministry was a constant moral miracle. It was as if the gospel had been now published for the first time. The mentally blind began to see ; the morally impotent to take up his bed and walk. Kings and emperors consulted these new apostles ; at their bidding, towns, provinces, whole kingdoms, flung off the yoke of Rome ; nations negotiated and fought respecting their tenets. In all this there was abundance to flatter and gratify, we will not say their spiritual pride, but their religious enthusiasm.’—Pp. 142, 143.

In addition to this, in Calvin’s case, there was the purpose, so clearly revealed by the whole scope of his efforts, of making Geneva a ‘city of refuge ;’ nay more, a realization of our Lord’s parabolic representation of Christian character everywhere, ‘a city set on a hill that could not be hid.’ And yet further, Calvin had fought his way to clear convictions respecting what the gospel taught ;—his nature, his education, the spirit of his generation, forbade his even suspecting that another could have reached by a similar path an equally clear conviction of a widely different apprehension of the same truths ;—he felt bound, therefore, with all the earnestness of his spirit, and by all the means within his grasp, to secure the adoption of his own views, and to put down gainsayers. Mr. Dyer says :—

‘An irritable pride is one of the salient traits of his character. This feeling particularly betrayed itself where Calvin’s literary reputation, or his authority as a teacher, was concerned ; for these were the instruments of his power and influence. He loved Castellio till their views began to clash, and then he pursued him with the most unrelenting malignity. Though acquainted with the views of Socinus and the other Italian Anti-Trinitarians, he tolerated those heretics so long as they flattered him ; but when he discovered that this flattery was a mere cloak and pretence, his indignation knew no bounds. Nay, he even endured and corresponded with Servetus, the arch-heretic of them all, till he found himself ridiculed and abused by the Spaniard, and then he formed the resolution of putting him to death ; a design which he cherished for seven years, and which he effected the moment it was in his power to do so ; and that in spite of the mild and tolerant principles, which his understanding, when calm and unruffled, had led him deliberately to lay down.’—Pp. 535, 536.

But it was more than ‘irritable pride ;’ cold as his nature

was, he was an enthusiast, and had formed so high an opinion of his own calling, and had so identified himself with his tenets, that he was as ready to resent an aspersion on the one, as opposition to the other; and as terribly. Let these instances speak; they will at least show, that what Calvin did respecting Servetus was not singular in its kind. Jerome Bolsec was illogical enough to reject the Reformer's predestinarian dogmas, and unwise enough to do this at the public criticism at St. Peter's church, one Friday. He was summoned before the council, and required to give categorical replies to seventeen articles, which might have perplexed Aquinas himself. Naturally enough, he failed to satisfy his inquisitors, and was convicted of five errors; and after the council had consulted Zurich, Berne, and Basle, respecting his punishment, hinting, not very obscurely, that they thought of perpetual imprisonment or death, 'he was sentenced to banishment for life, under pain of being whipped if ever he should be found within the city of Geneva or its territory.'—(P. 279.)

A lady of Ferrara, 'named Copa, was condemned, in 1559, to beg pardon of God and the magistrates, and to leave the city in twenty-four hours, on pain of being beheaded,' for having impugned some point of the established doctrine or discipline.'—(P. 144.)

'Three men who had laughed during a sermon of Calvin's, were imprisoned for three days, and condemned to ask pardon of the Consistory. Such proceedings are very numerous, and in the two years 1558 and 1559 alone, 414 of them are recorded!'—(P. 144.)

Pierre Ameaux gave a supper once to a large company, and having 'drunk rather freely, was imprudent enough to declare that Calvin preached a false doctrine, was a very bad man, and nothing but a Picard.' He was imprisoned, and at the end of two months tried, when he apologized and retracted his words, and was condemned to pay a fine of sixty dollars. Whereupon Calvin demanded that the sentence should be quashed, and the trial renewed; and Ameaux was this time condemned to the *amende honorable*, a punishment as degrading as the public penance of the Catholics.—(Pp. 201—203.)

One Jacques Gruet was suspected of affixing a threatening libel to Calvin's pulpit; he was, moreover, in the habit of wearing slashed breeches, against which the Consistory had repeatedly hurled its thunders. The man was afterwards found to be heretic enough, but these were the offences for which he was tortured morning and evening for a month; and on confessing that he had affixed the libel, beheaded.—(P. 215.)

The occasion of the last struggle of the anti-Calvinistic party

in Geneva against the terrible power of the Consistory,—in which Calvin assumed a more heroic attitude than he had in his whole life else, except in the preface to the 'Institutes,' addressed to Francis I. of France,—was the attempt of Philibert Berthelier to obtain from the council his readmission to the communion; he having been excommunicated a year and a half before, simply because he would not allow that he had done wrong in maintaining that he was as good a man as Calvin! He was foiled in his attempt; and afterwards, he, his brother, and others of his party, engaged in some very foolish street-riots, the result of which was a trial, in which some of the prisoners were tortured; and a sentence of death, from which Philibert saved himself by flight, whilst his brother suffered;—his conviction resting on these points amongst others, that 'he wished to deprive the Consistory of the right of excommunication, because it made Calvin a bishop and prince of Geneva; that he had hoped that this opportunity would be the means of banishing Calvin; and that he had expressed himself loudly against the doctrine of the Reformation received at Geneva.' (Pp. 369—398.) We fully agree with what Mr. Dyer says respecting these executions:—'We cannot but look upon them as having been the result of his power, of the intimate connexion which he had established between Church and State, and of his determination to uphold his scheme of ecclesiastical discipline, without much regard to the means which he used for that purpose.'—(P. 399.)

And now we must speak of the death of Servetus. The tale is too well known to require repetition here; and we are so heartily tired of it from the incessant appeal to it in the writings of Unitarians and Romanists, who have made the unhappy Spaniard's name as great a weariness as George Combe made that of Galileo in his 'Constitution of Man,' that we would willingly pass it by altogether. Mr. Dyer has devoted two entire chapters to it (pp. 296—367), and has so fully and candidly investigated the original documents relating to it, that no doubt can remain that on Calvin rests the chief guilt of this affair. We can only select the points which bring home this amount of blame to the Swiss Reformer.

On the 13th of February, 1546, Calvin wrote thus to Farel respecting Servetus:—'He offers to come hither if I will allow him. But I am unwilling to give any pledge; for if he does come, and my authority be of any avail, *I will never suffer him to depart alive.*'—(P. 308.)

In 1553, Servetus was living at Vienne, under the pseudonym of Villeneuve, and had just printed privately his 'Restitutio Christianismi.' At this time there lived at Geneva one Guillaume Trie, a refugee from Lyons, who was in the habit of corre-

sponding with a relation, named Antoine Arneys, at Lyons, who desired to win him back to the Church of Rome. On the 26th of February, in that year, Trie denounced Servetus to his friend, told him his assumed name and profession, and further described his recently published work, and disclosed how and by whom it was printed, enclosing the first sheet as a specimen. (Pp. 311, 312.) This letter was, as might have been expected, shown to the authorities, who examined both Servetus and the printer, but the proof was not complete against them. Thereupon Arneys wrote to Trie, at the dictation of an officer of the Inquisition, asking for more proofs of the alleged crime; and received from Geneva, with many expressions of regret that the matter had been taken up, not the printed book, but some two dozen letters of Servetus to Calvin, and some pages of the 'Institutes,' with Servetus's MS. annotations on the margins; which had been obtained from Calvin for this express purpose.—(Pp. 315—317.)

Calvin's implication in Trie's first letter cannot be *proved*. But his implication in the succeeding letters, joined with the knowledge of the whole of Servetus's career displayed in the first, and with Calvin's long-before-avowed determination to destroy Servetus, raise the *probability* of his implication so high, that that letter must (thus explained) stand as part of the case against him.

As soon as Calvin knew that Servetus was in Geneva, after his escape from the clutches of the Inquisition, he had him imprisoned; and the *pro formâ* prosecutor was Calvin's secretary. (P. 328.) In the course of the trial, Calvin wrote to Farel, expressing his *hope* that the Spaniard would be put to death, but desiring the atrocity of the punishment to be mitigated (p. 339); and the very next day (the secretary proving no match for his antagonist) Calvin appeared against him in person (p. 330); he also denounced him and his heresies from his pulpit (p. 332). The refusal of the benefit of counsel to the accused arose from a 'representation and articles' given in to the council, in the handwriting of one of Calvin's copyists (p. 334). Calvin visited Servetus in prison, and desired him to retract certain passages, which he had extracted from his works; and afterwards drew up the extracts in a paper of thirty-eight articles, to which the prisoner wrote replies (pp. 336, 337).

And lastly, when the horrid execution was effected, and a general outcry arose against it, Calvin stood forth as the justifier of the deed; and that, not merely by attacking the memory of the wretched man in his bitterest manner, but by maintaining that 'to those who held the true doctrine,' and to them alone, belonged the punishment of heretics! (p. 354.)

The defence of Calvin's participation in this infamous pro-

ceeding has been undertaken lately by Dr. Paul Henry, in his 'Leben Calvins,' with as much candour as a warm admirer of the Genevese Reformer could display. He attempts, but we cannot think with great success, to turn aside from Calvin the point of several of the facts above recited; his principal plea is, however, based on the spirit of the sixteenth century, which he considers to be so clearly expressed in favour of the sentence, and of the execution of it, that Calvin must needs stand exonerated from particular blame. Undoubtedly, the most eminent Reformers, both before the death of Servetus and after it, loudly approved the views of Calvin. Yet it must not be forgotten that they were as loudly condemned by men of less prominence, indeed, but by no means less acquainted with the gospel of Christ. The execrations of the Romanists may well be passed over in contemptuous silence; but the character of the replies from the Swiss Churches, and the general burst of indignation amongst the unofficial members of them (even allowing for what was said at Geneva by the Libertine faction), which was such that Calvin felt himself constrained to vindicate the act, are sufficient to prove that both he and his brother Reformers were behind the spirit of their own age.

We do not speak thus from any sympathy with the sham liberality of the day; nor would we be so unfair as to overlook the great difference between the circumstances amidst which the Reformers lived, and those in which our lot is cast;—in most sorrowful truth, this is but one of the proofs furnished by all ages alike, and by all creeds alike, of the evils which invariably follow the committal of the defence of religion to the secular power; and on this account alone we suffer ourselves to dwell upon it.

The only explanation of Calvin's conduct in this affair, and in those previously mentioned, is that afforded by Mr. Dyer's clear statement of the great object of the Reformer's labours at Geneva, quoted above. As Mr. Carlyle says of Calvin's greatest disciple, John Knox, we may say of Calvin himself:—'He strove to make the Government of Geneva a *theocracy*. It is most true he did, at bottom, consciously or unconsciously, mean a theocracy, a government of God. He did mean that all manner of persons, in public or private, whatever they might be doing, should walk according to the gospel of Christ, and understand that this was their law, supreme over all laws. He hoped once to see such a thing realized; and the petition, *Thy kingdom come*, no longer an empty word. This was his scheme of right and truth; this he zealously endeavoured after, to realize it. How shall we blame him for struggling to realize it? Theocracy, government of God, is precisely the thing to be

struggled for!' It is so, indeed; and no man ought to breathe a word of blame against Calvin, or Knox, or any Reformer, for desiring 'to make a God's kingdom of this earth. The earth will not become too godlike!' But we must beware of speaking of their endeavours, so as to produce, in our own minds, the same confusion of things, different as heaven and earth, which misled them. Neither then, nor now, nor at any time, could men be brought to know Heaven's laws of right, and true, and godlike life and action here, by compelled assent to formulas of doctrine. At no time could the heavenly kingdom come as the effect of earthly statutory enactment. And, above all things, neither could God's will be known on earth, nor done, through the terror of such sanctions as those we have seen so unsparingly resorted to by Calvin in vindication of his Genevese theocracy.

'That Calvin had to deal with a perverse and corrupt people,' says Mr. Dyer, 'must be admitted; but it may be doubted whether he took the best method of reforming them. Education and example would have done more to effect this object than all these atrocious severities, and these precise and vexatious regulations, which only caused the evil-disposed to add hypocrisy to their other vices. A recent Genevese writer (Galiffe)* has remarked: "To those who imagine that Calvin did nothing but good, I could produce our registers, covered with records of illegitimate children, which were exposed in all parts of the town and country; hideous trials for obscenity; wills, in which fathers and mothers accuse their children not only of errors but of crimes; agreements before notaries, between young women and their lovers, in which the latter, even in the presence of the parents of their paramours, make them an allowance for the education of their illegitimate offspring. I could instance multitudes of forced marriages, in which the delinquents were conducted from the prison to the church; mothers who abandoned their children to the hospital, whilst they themselves lived in abundance with a second husband; bundles of lawsuits between brothers; heaps of secret negotiations; men and women burnt for witchcraft; sentences of death, in frightful numbers; and all these things among the generation nourished by the mystic manna of Calvin." —Page 153.

In a word, authoritatively imposed creeds, with such a power as Calvin established at Geneva to enforce them, make hypocrites or martyrs of those who dissent, and tyrants of those who agree with them. Such is the testimony of the history of every Church armed with the sword of the State, from that of Rome to that in Massachusetts. And what they effect when there is no

* We must add, that Dr. Paul Henry himself does not cast a doubt upon the authority of Galiffe in matters of *fact*, though he very justly opposes many of his judgments upon them; and that this passage, which is to be found in the *original* of Dr. Henry's 'Life,' does not reflect upon Calvin as the *author* of such a state of things, for it existed long before he began his work at Geneva, but upon the *means* which he employed to change it.

such power, let the present condition of every denomination of religionists in this country, that has imposed a creed, or catechism, or confession of faith, upon its members, declare !

Calvin was not a great man ; but he was one of the most eminent master-minds that ever took part in human affairs. The *great man* embodies, more or less perfectly, the ideal of humanity ; and, even though unrecognised by his contemporaries, cannot live in vain : after-generations study his words and actions, and derive from them constantly growing light and power. The *master-mind* is the embodiment of the spirit of an age, or of a country ; and one withal that can afford them just the guidance they are able to receive. His influence may spread far, and long outlive him ; but it will not advance men beyond the stage in which they were when first it was exerted upon them. Such, we apprehend, was the secret of Calvin's success ; and in it, too, lies the cause of its peculiarity. The number of his rigid followers, even to the present day, attests the reality of his power ; but the character of their religion equally attests that his power is not that of a great man.

Looking at the subject more closely, we find that Calvin's work answers to two distinct desires, which spring up in the heart simultaneously with the reception of the gospel—the one seeking a consistent, and tolerably complete, exhibition of the relation of the Divine proceedings to man and his affairs ; the other, some actual and practical manifestation of the harmonious relation of man and his affairs to the Divine proceedings. From the depth of these desires the greatest part of Calvin's influence sprang. Some realization of these inward longings is absolutely needful, and it seemed to be found in the theology and church-order of the Reformer of Geneva.

But it only seemed to be found. Both were deeply tinged with the peculiar characteristics of Calvin's times. The relation of human philosophy, of the laws of human thought, to divine and revealed truth, was most imperfectly seen. It can hardly be said to have been seen at all ; for it was never carefully investigated and accurately determined. The influence of philosophy was scornfully disowned, and yet was necessarily and instinctively admitted ; and no doubt was entertained that school-logic (and, in Calvin's own case, mere law-logic) was the legitimate *organon* in theological science.

And thus, also, the way by which God's truth in the gospel should be manifested to the world, was assumed to be (as had always been maintained in the Church of Rome) verbal assent and outward conformity to some confession of faith—no inquiry being made as to how 'the law of the spirit of life in Christ Jesus' would naturally display itself. The Old Testament was

regarded not as history, for the assurance of living faith—nor as an exhibition of the manifold forms of piety and devotion, for the nurture of the inward life of the follower of Christ; but as a divine code of laws, all of which (unless formally repealed, or furnished with a clear antitype, by the New Testament) were of permanent and universal obligation. And it was held to be the first duty of secular powers to compel assent to such confessions, and obedience to such laws: the *State* being the *Church*, and rulers 'nursing fathers' to it; while ministers were to unite the functions of the priests and prophets of Israel, and watch over and guide Church and State and rulers alike, for the glory and by the authority of God.

Hence, though Calvin's system of theology and church-order furnished answering realities to those deeply-seated desires, the correspondence was so imperfect in kind, as well as in degree, that they must soon be outgrown; and, if retained, prove incredibly harmful; or else they must check all vital growth, and be at once dead forms encasing dead souls.

We might bring other objections against both. Thus, the theology of Geneva took notice of but one of the great 'con-natural' truths on which all religion rests—God's indefeasible sovereignty over all the works of his hands; and it developed from this, with strict and terrible logical correctness, by the help of various texts of Scripture, the doctrine of predestination, in its double form of election and reprobation. The other great truth—man's responsibility to God, was overlooked; or worse, for the foregone conclusion of the 'absolute decrees' was allowed to prove the bondage of the will, which was practically a denial of that responsibility. Calvin did not see, nor have the theologians either of his school, or of the rival school of Episcopius seen, that both these truths are of equal and divine authority,—nor that whilst the attempts to develop them logically could only lead to irreconcilable contradictions, the Christian life embraces, and develops, and harmonizes both, not as doctrines of theology, but as vital truths from God.

And thus, too, the Genevese State-church theory turned the 'perfect law of liberty' into a most vexatious tyranny; and entailed upon Calvin, who had set out by bringing forward the old heathen Seneca to testify against persecution, and who had dared to rebuke his king in the face of all Europe, the necessity of withdrawing what he had written in his 'Institutes,' and of replacing it by arguments which were cruel, inasmuch as they breathed slaughter against all whom his logic could not convince; and absurd, inasmuch as they denied the right of exercising this cruelty to all but those who assented to his conclusions.

Mr. Dyer says, in page 11, 'The influence of the sovereign

in determining the creed of his subjects, is a fact that must have struck most readers of the history of those times. The common observation respecting the impolicy of persecution, and its unfitness to attain its ends, is one of those which we rather wish to be true, than in the majority of instances can prove to be so.' And 'the religion of the principal European states has remained the same as was established in the sixteenth century. The great tide of religious opinion has subsequently ceased to flow, and its inroads were confined to that epoch.' In page 1, he says, 'The pretended infallibility of the Romish Church had at least secured *unity*.'

Now it is to this universal reliance of the great Reformers on the secular powers, and to their timid appeal to them in support of their doctrines, on the one hand; and on the other, to their vain endeavours to secure the phantasm of *unity*, in forgetfulness of all the insincerity that must be involved in even a partial attainment of their desire; that we ascribe mainly the fact that the Reformation was hemmed in by such narrow geographical boundaries, and was so imperfect even within them. Noble and brave men they were, and their work was great; but they were hardly of the spirit of the first preachers of the gospel, who went forth '*mighty through God*,' and *opposed* by all other power; who expressed their thought of Christian unity by the very words of the Saviour—'*all one in Christ Jesus*;' and who, respecting that whole class of questions, which arrayed Lutheran against Zwinglian, and Calvinist against Erastian, simply said, 'let every man be fully persuaded in his own mind;' and whose work changed the face of the whole civilized world. What George Herbert says in his '*Church Militant*,' expresses the truth respecting the labours of the spiritual heroes of the sixteenth century; and it might well suggest to us a nobler aim for our labours, and summon us in earnest to our work:—

'The second temple could not reach the first;—

And the late Reformation never durst

Compare with ancient times and purer years;

But in the Jews and us deserveth tears.'

ART. II.—*Travels of His Royal Highness, Prince Adalbert, of Prussia, in the South of Europe and Brazil. With a Voyage up the Amazon and Xingu.* Translated by Sir Robert H. Schomburgh, and John Edward Taylor, Esq. In Two Volumes. Pp. 800. London: Bogue.

THESE volumes bear evidence that their princely author's pen was not alone employed in their production. In the studied and consciously modest preface, dated from the palace of Monjibou, we find, indeed, no admission of this fact; but in the elaborate details connected with the river system of South America, and the geographical and historical sketches which at intervals occur, we discover numerous indications of it. Prince Adalbert, doubtless, contributed the narrative of his personal experience; but probably the libraries of Berlin were ransacked for information by Professors and other industrious literati in his employ. For this we by no means blame our author, although his inordinate affectation of modesty, whilst altogether omitting to notice any assistance he derived from others, cannot fail to excite a smile. The work was only designed and printed in the first instance, it is said, for private distribution. It is remarkable how these books, intended solely for circulation among a few friends, invariably make their appearance in the mighty library of the world, probably because their authors deem them too excellent to remain prisoned within the restricted limits of a private circulation, if, indeed, any volume was ever printed in earnest with such a design. The practice, however, of throwing open these new stores of knowledge and these new depositories of thought to the inspection of the world, is much to be encouraged. Whatever there is original or useful in them, we can avail ourselves of, whilst the dull, unprofitable and stale, is not forced upon our acceptance. Therefore, we have, under any circumstances, to thank the writer of a work like the present, which contains no little that is new, and much that is valuable, for suffering it to enter a general circulation. The result is, in such cases, what we have to look to, and whether the work was written by Prince Adalbert, or by learned and untitled Professors under his direction, matters very little. We have only to examine it to ascertain that it is really an interesting and useful book of travels; and further than this, our inquiries need not go. If, however, the Prince wrote the whole himself, we have to congratulate him on his taste, and the public on the result. It would be well for some other professors of German king-craft, were they to amuse themselves with paddling up distant rivers, shooting alligators, cursing musquitoes, and asso-

ciating with the unsophisticated savage in his native wilds, instead of pursuing their royal calling at home. Their subjects, at least, would thank them for it, and history would write their names on a brighter page.

The first glance at the contents of the volumes before us, is sufficient to indicate that the materials upon which their author, whoever he may be, had to work, were of a sufficiently varied and interesting character; and the perusal of the narrative itself, with the occasional geographical and scientific digressions introduced, will show, that if no brilliant talent has here been called into play, there has at least been sufficient ingenuity, perseverance, quickness of observation, and lively ability, exercised to render the book worthy of an honourable place in the literature of travel.

Early in May, 1842, our author, in the steamer *Palermo*, passed the Cyclops Isles, entered the bay of Catania, and stood under the shadow of Etna. The mountain was ascended to its highest peak, the travellers literally racing with the clouds which were carried from the valley below, and wafted by the wind over the lofty cones. Here, at the elevation of more than ten thousand feet above the sea, whence they could view the scenes of Homer's song, and the spot where the Roman fleet was burned by Archimedes, besides calling up the shadows of other men and other events, famous through all time, the first inspiration which filled their minds was one of loyalty! From the summit of the fiery mountain they raised a *viva* to their king! Such was the tone of our traveller's mind.

We then proceed in the company of Prince Adalbert to the halls of the Alhambra, through the streets of Granada, over the rock of Gibraltar, and through the Straits to Cadiz, with its bull-fights, and its Alameda, to Madeira, and to the Canary Islands. On the summit of the Peak of Teneriffe we again find the travellers drinking to the health of three crowned individuals—a ceremony which would appear to be invested with a peculiar fascination for them. But as our tastes differ, we prefer not to linger there, but pass on to Rio Janeiro, over the violet-hued cones of the Sugar-loaf Mountain, and among the flowery gardens of Brazil. We have the history of this region, from the date of the discovery of the Cape of Consolation in 1500 to the present period, with a general description of the country, and observations on its fine position as the territory of a naval power. Such observations are frequently scattered throughout the work, since our Prince is evidently impressed with a favourable idea of his own scientific knowledge, which, indeed, is, apparently, not slight.

We have thus hurried over the first volume of Prince Adalbert's narrative, because it is his voyage up the Amazon and

Xingu rivers which we propose to take as the principal basis of the present article. The noble stream, whose banks the traditions of past ages have peopled with a race of female warriors superior in bravery to the phalanxes of Achaia, and where mythology has created cities of enormous magnitude, inhabited by gold-workers, may be numbered among the most magnificent features of the great South American continent. We there find Nature assuming her most gigantic dimensions, and not, as in the region of the Alps and the Himalaya, covering her giant form with a mantle of snow, but luxuriating in all the loveliness and warmth of beauty, habitually observed in more gently undulating countries. Seldom do we discover in other quarters of the globe similar combinations of the colossal and the lovely, the grand and the graceful—such vast outlines moulded with such delicacy, and circumfused with an atmosphere so soft and calm as that which prevails in the forests on the shores of the Amazon and Xingu.

The inhabitants of this region have, in many instances, received among themselves the general precepts of the Christian religion, darkened and deformed by the mummeries of the Roman Church. But as that Church is rapidly losing ground in Christendom, with its followers falling off, and its influence diminishing, we may hope that the preachers of the gospel in that remote and uncivilized land will, in future, seek rather to infuse the spirit of religion into the minds of their hearers, than to set up material symbols of their creed, in the shape of crosses planted in the ground, or images carved on the rock. Prince Adalbert, during his interesting journey, observed among the people many signs of a disposition to learn, and a wish to improve. But, in general, his observation was not directed to this point. He preferred to notice what they did, rather than to inquire what they thought; so that our knowledge of the character of the tribes mentioned in the course of his relation must be drawn from events narrated, scenes and objects described, and not from any insight into the mind of the aborigines afforded by the result of the author's inquiries. Some men pursue the latter mode, and neglect the former—a few combine both classes of observation; but where we have to choose between one or the other, Prince Adalbert's method is open to less objection, since it allows us to judge for ourselves, and does not attempt to form opinions for us, without indicating the data upon which they are founded.

Under the guidance of the pilot Alberquerque, whose habitation was far in the interior, on the banks of the stream, and provided with every necessary for the voyage, our traveller and his companions, on the twenty-second day of November, started on their way. They had been anchored in a large steamer, at the

mouth of the Para branch of the river, and now embarked in an *igaritè*, a boat particularly adapted to such a voyage—drawing but little water, furnished with a roof of palm-leaves, and allowing sufficient space for the travellers and their equipment, whilst its size did not prevent a rapid progress up the stream. This was to convey them as far as the Boca d'Estrada, a path which lies across a great bend in the Xingu, similar to that in the Mississippi, as far as Porto Grande, where they were to embark in canoes, and continue their progress up the stream.

From morning until noon they advanced through a country almost uninhabited, for, during this interval of time, only two human dwellings were visible on the banks, although columns of smoke, few and far between, which rose above the trees in the distance, indicated the site of a savage bivouac. This circumstance was remarked during the greater portion of the journey, so that, as the *igaritè* sped over the broad waters of the Amazon, it was through silence and solitude, unbroken save by the roll of the porpoise, or the scream of the parrot. The river, as we have said, was wide—almost appearing to be an arm of the sea, and studded with beautiful green islands. Its waves were dark, and rolled heavily under the influence of the wind, while along either shore the forest rose as a mighty wall, laced with creepers, and hung with flowers of every form and hue. A troop of chattering monkeys, lifting their voices in discordant chorus; a flight of green and crimson parrots; a porpoise floundering in the water; with, at wide intervals, a dwelling and a group of natives, or a canoe, paddled by Indians down the stream; were the only signs of life which met their eyes, as they passed upwards, singing their German songs, whenever the moon rose to inspire them with her beauty. The landscape was as lovely as it was singular; and the excitement of the scene was in no way lessened by the conversation of the boatmen, who spoke in whispers of the fierce wild beasts infesting the woods, and the greedy alligators which haunt those unfrequented waters.

Prince Adalbert seems to have viewed the singular displays of Nature, revelling in her own wild luxuriance, with interest and pleasure; nor is his description wanting in the elements of the picturesque. Occasionally, the rich and varied landscapes that followed each other in quick succession before his eyes, and the multiplied and novel impressions produced upon his mind, seem to have confused his ideas, and deprived his descriptions of that distinct terseness with which the practised writer can lay a scene before us as vividly as though the forms and colours of the objects described had been transmitted to canvass by the artist's pencil. He, however, succeeds in picturing the Isle of Saint

Isabel with graphic fidelity ; and as it may be taken as a type of the countless islands in the rivers, we quote the passage :—

‘The island is bordered with *Caladiums*, which, springing from the water, rise with a gentle arch up to the middle of the palms that form the second range, and partially cover their white stems. This large terrace consists of closely-compacted fan-palms, whose crowns, likewise, form a kind of undulating roof rising toward the land, the small stems standing in the foreground overtopped by the latter. Among both species is seen the graceful assai-palm, waving to and fro its airy crown of finely pinnated fronds, supported on a slender bamboo-like stem. In a third line rise majestically the summits of the lofty forest-trees, covering the whole with their true Brazilian roofs of rich foliage, or vaulted tops ; red creepers, of a magnificent colour, that we had not before seen, here and there climbing up their huge trunks. Occasionally, too, the rounded top of a gigantic fan-palm appears above the other trees, formed of hundreds of green fans, all springing from a central point, and radiating upwards, overshadowing the immense red brown bunch of fruit, which depends from the vigorous but slender stems, intermingled with a few yellow, withered fans. In some islands, where the soil is perhaps not sufficiently elevated above the water, there is an entire absence of the higher line of forest trees ; and as the vegetation consists only of a grove of palms, bordered by *Caladiums*, these islands have generally been called the Palm Islands.’—Vol. ii. p. 178.

A curious sight occasionally diversified the scene, which was that of large trunks of trees floating down the stream, and upon them perched rows of white birds, evidently accustomed to, and pleased with, this sort of navigation. Sometimes, too, the traveller’s curiosity was excited by what appeared to be columns of smoke rising from the central foliage of a fan-palm, but which was, in reality, a cloud of insects similar to gnats, whose constantly gyrating motion caused the deception. Above the island of Para the river Amazon has the appearance of an inland ocean, so broad and majestic is its flow. Here is situated the village of Breves, composed of two short rows of huts, built partly on piles, and partly on the firm ground, but liable, during periods of inundation, to be half submerged. To provide against such occurrences, the primitive architects of these regions construct within every dwelling a platform, filling nearly the whole of the apartment, and elevated several feet above the ground, and this, when the water washes into the habitation, serves as a second floor, whither the inmates may retreat as the tide advances. In the windows are fixed trellice-like reed-mats, like the jealous lattice of the Eastern harem ; and upon the walls, or from the roof, hang the various simple utensils which compose the wealth of an Indian home.

One singular feature in the South American forest—where everything is on a colossal scale, except man and his works, which sink into insignificance beside the gigantic magnificence of inanimate creation—is the enormous size of the roots of the various trees. From some palms a root springs at the height of ten feet from the ground, throwing itself from the trunk in the shape of an arch, and seeking the earth at some distance from the parent stem, which it serves to support and to adorn. Some trees, rising a hundred and fifty feet above the level of the river, fling out their roots for fifty feet into the river, forming, occasionally, a vista of lofty natural arches, festooned with flowers, and hung with the growth of parasitical vegetation, which forms so peculiar a feature in these woods. The marshy nature of this region, indicated by its native name, is caused, indeed, by the altitude of the trees, and their enormous crowns of foliage, which embower the whole country under a canopy of leaves and branches. Dark and deep morasses were frequently observed, although pleasant and dry spots were never wanting, where the travellers could halt, to enjoy a ramble, or partake of their meals.

‘Meanwhile the crew, stripping off all their clothes, except a covering round their loins, and armed with knife and stick, hunted turtles and shellfish in pools and ditches, or amused themselves with angling. Most of these men were tall, well-formed Indians, with smooth glossy black hair, and teeth filed to a point. Their sense of locality and sharp sight astonished us, as well as the light and elastic step with which they passed noiselessly over the leaves and branches that covered the ground to the depth of a foot, whilst a heavy step made a loud crackling noise. They seldom used their *façaos*—an instrument indispensable to us in making our way through the forest; but glided among the bushes with incredible adroitness and agility, stepping under the tall arched palm leaves, that shoot like mushrooms from the ground, and which, when we touched them in passing, sent down a shower of small brown ants upon our heads and necks, that stung us in a most disagreeable manner.’—*Ib.* p. 187

The occupations of the travellers were in accordance with the land through which they were journeying, and the thin and scattered race whose homes lay around. Now we find them washing their linen; now stewing parrots with rice; now floundering in the water in emulation of the porpoise; now preparing coffee, plucking fowls, or breaking biscuits with a hammer, cleaning plates and dishes, or engaged in botanical pursuits. Shooting parrots and monkeys was an every-day affair, and the chase and slaughter of an alligator was not an unusual occurrence; but it was with great excitement that they attacked and literally fought a boa-constrictor, whose huge coils, glittering like

silver in the light, attracted their attention, as the reptile lay basking in the sun on a mud-bank. It was wounded with balls and hewed with cutlasses, but clung to life with astonishing tenacity, writhing its immense folds, and flinging its head from side to side, as it endeavoured to throw its vast folds around one or other of the assailants. But they, with swords and fire-arms, succeeded in taking its life; and its beautiful skin, dappled with spots of white, yellow, and black, now hangs in the palace of Monjibou.

Gurupa, which was reached by the end of the month, is situated at the bend of the river, of which it is considered the key, although its sentry-box, its weak, irregular wall, and single gun, afford little idea of strength. A large wooden cross indicates that Christianity has planted a seed here, although of a bastard and spurious kind. The Dutch were once somewhat powerful at this place, but the arrows of a thousand native archers, headed and supported by seventy Portuguese, drove them from their position; and Gurupa now remains as a station where all vessels ascending and descending the river are stopped and searched. The inhabitants make bricks, tiles, and pottery; collect cocoa and sarsaparilla on the neighbouring island; and extend their trading excursions as far as the Xingu. Further on, the island of Tarageda attracted the traveller's notice: the natives describe it as the residence of a gigantic serpent, whose body resembles a number of barrels strung together, and whose ordinary food is human flesh. Another monster is said to haunt these waters, which swims against the current, and rears its crested head above the waves to alarm the fisherman; whilst a third, and still more formidable creature, is the seven-headed serpent, which has been seen but once, although its voice is often heard in concert with that of the howling monkeys and the alligators. Such are the superstitions which still maintain existence in the minds of these people, and from this we may judge of the progress of Christianity. However, at Porto de Ney, still further up, the inhabitants, when our travellers passed, were all collected to celebrate the festival of Saint Andrew, with dancing, singing, and waving of banners. The whole population then formed in procession, with flags, and rude drums; the elders being robed, whilst the younger people went entirely naked.

The mouth of the Xingu here opened upon their gaze; and as they left the Amazon, and turned into its current, they saw an unbounded expanse of water rolling from the south, like some vast lake heaving under the influence of a strong wind. The *igaritè* had already brought them a distance of three hundred and twenty miles from the sea, and still the volume of water appeared as grand, as magnificent as ever. The waves were

of a black, or bottle-green hue, which darkened still further as they proceeded towards its source.

‘Here and there on some small points of sand, projecting into the river, were scattered a few habitations. In one of these cabins on the left bank, Albuquerque, the Portuguese, met his wife and children, who had been obliged to fly from their own dwelling, higher up the river, by the appearance of roving bands of deserters. Our second pilot also introduced his wife to us; both ladies were of Indian descent. A slight frame of poles supported the palm-leaf roof of the fragile hut, and the walls of which were made of the same material; and some hammocks slung across the room, together with a foot-stool or Indian chair, formed the only furniture. We observed on the ground, and on a kind of shelf in the corner, made of sticks, a number of utensils and fruit capsules of the Nuja palm; there were likewise large baskets and pots filled with raw cotton. Several other baskets were suspended to the walls, together with materials for weaving, bunches of bananas, linen jackets, and straw hats; bows and arrows stood ranged along the walls. In a hammock in the middle of the room, lay a fine looking boy fast asleep, and naked as when he was born. A second door-like opening behind admitted a view of a small river gliding peacefully along, and bounded by the dark forest on the opposite bank. The children it will have been seen here go stark naked; the men in this part of the lower Xingu and Amazon generally wear short linen trousers, considering any other clothes superfluous finery; while the women are usually dressed in a petticoat and short jacket, the hair wound into a single tuft at the crown of the head, which gives them a somewhat wild appearance.’—*Id.* p. 210.

The *igarité* proceeded on its way, rapidly leaving behind that species of semi-civilization which on the lower part of the river speaks of the mingling of European with aboriginal practices. At night, scenes of unparalleled loveliness opened on the explorer's view, when the moonlight fell on the river, here almost black, on the far-extending forest, and on the picturesque little islands which, in the Xingu as well as in the Amazon, stud the channel. A hut with its door open, and a light burning within, occasionally cheered the otherwise unbroken solitude, revealing its inmates sitting in their hammocks in all the luxuriant indolence of the savage. The most beautiful spot they observed was a small bay, where the small settlement of Veixos, with its dwellings, its church, its huge wooden cross, stands opposite a little island, among bright red rocks, and surrounded on the sides by a frame of forest-trees. An Indian woman, half-clothed, and engaged in bathing her children in the stream, sat in a canoe when our author passed, but quickly took to flight. They were the only human beings visible in the whole place. Veixos seemed deserted, for the men had left their dwellings to plant their patches of cleared ground, and the women,

probably, thought it prudent to remain concealed in their habitations.

The journey along the Estrada de Bocca, which was formed by the Jesuits to obviate the necessity of proceeding round the great bend, was one of no ordinary interest or novelty. The path lay through a forest of lofty trees, which here and there had fallen across it to obstruct the way. Sometimes a dashing torrent swept athwart the main road, and over this a prostrate tree was thrown as a bridge. Some giants of the wood were observed whose circumference exceeded thirty feet, whilst their height was a hundred and fifty. The travellers came at intervals upon a group of Indians, engaged in making fires, hewing wood, and preparing for the night bivouac; and at these places, under the shelter of a sailcloth, they usually paused to rest. Rain and mosquitoes from above, stinging ants and other insects from below, divided the empire of sleep, and taught our prince and his companions that this wild journey was destined to add to their experience of the discomforts, as well as the pleasures, of travelling.

The shrieks of the macaws, which, with their brilliant and various plumage, swept in a circle overhead, as the travellers disturbed their rest, the howl of the monkeys, and the rattle of distant torrents, maintained an extraordinary concert in the wood; and to them was occasionally added the crash of a gigantic tree, whose trunk, undermined by millions of ants, was unable longer to bear up the ponderous crown of foliage on its head. We cannot, however, pause to indicate the numerous scenes and incidents which marked this pedestrian journey, but hurry on with the travellers until they reach the ubas, or canoes, in which the further progress up the stream was to be accomplished. The Xingu, at Porto Grande, was assuming a new appearance. Below it flowed with a broad and rolling current to the Amazon, but above its channel became gradually constricted, and it foamed down with constantly increasing force as they pushed on their way against the stream. The forest on either side still continued magnificent and lofty, and long rows of islands followed in close succession in the centre of the river; and here the foliage on the bank hung over, and nearly formed an oval, beneath which the travellers paddled as in almost perfect gloom. At the various Indian settlements the canoes were drawn up to the shore, whilst our author and his companions landed, to enter into familiar and friendly intercourse with the natives, who thronged to the water's edge, to barter musical instruments, and articles of food and apparel, for trifles infinitely more valuable in their eyes, because manufactured by white men, and coming from an unknown and distant land. In one instance an

immense variety of objects was exhibited, to tempt the strangers. Reedpipes—musical instruments formed out of gourds, upon which the natives play skilfully, but with which the strangers could make no melody; vessels of similiar material, richly stained with oil, and carved with, as it seemed, Greek arabesques; bows and arrows; were displayed, in vast variety, before the eyes of our author and his fellow-explorers.

‘In the midst of this crowd of Indians, all so eagerly busied with this childish finery, and bargaining for the merest trifles, a mother sat upon the grave of her husband, her eyes turned in grief towards the earth, and her children playing about her; as if she would protect the weapons of her departed husband from desecration; for these are held sacred among the Jurunas, who will not part with them at any price.

‘We mingled among the Indians, and, seating myself beside an old Pagé, I tried to engage him in talk, with the aid of an interpreter. I touched upon the subject of war, which the Pagé caught up passionately; he grew quite eloquent, and, in his impatience to explain to me a surprise of the Tacon Lapez, which had been recently executed, jumped on his feet, and acted the occurrence with such energy and vividness, that, with the help of a few words, explained by an interpreter, I was able to comprehend the whole story. The effect upon the group of Indians was very striking; they drew nearer and nearer, watching with eagerness the motions of the Pagé, as he represented a Tacon Lapez pierced in the back by an arrow, falling to the ground, and dying in agony, whilst the other inhabitant of the Maloca that was attacked took to flight. He concluded by describing, with great pride, how his brother had been captured, and subsequently eaten, by the tall Tapui-uassu, who live higher up the Xingu.

‘The rays of the setting sun illumined this scene, and the approach of darkness warned us to fetch our hammocks from the boats, and sling them under the ranchos, the smell in the hut being very offensive. The moon shone brightly upon forest, hut, and stream; all around was hushed into perfect silence, and we presently fell asleep.’—*Ib.* p. 281.

A remarkable phenomenon was observed as they were paddling up this portion of the Xingu. The canoes seemed to be borne along upon the summit of a ridge, which extended along the stream midway between the shores, while the water sloped down on either side. Here a large alligator was shot; and Prince Adalbert hoped to carry its skin to Berlin, as a companion trophy with the speckled skin of the boa. But his boat’s crew, whose philosophy, doubtless, taught them that the practical was of more importance than the ornamental, disappointed this ambition. Seated around a blazing fire on shore, they hewed the reptile to pieces, roasted and devoured the fragments, and derived immense pleasure from the operation. Our author, attracted by the musky smell of the flesh, drew near in time to

perceive the nature of their feast, and of the ruin of the hopes he had conceived of bearing a stuffed alligator in triumph to his palace of Monjibou.

Engaged alternately in admiring the magnificent scenery which opened to view at each new bend in the river, in mixing with the Indians, in waking the echoes of the forest with large native war and hunting horns, and in the enjoyment of more solid pleasures, the party proceeded on its way, through an ever-varying landscape, in which not even the Xingu itself was of a monotonous character. At times it swept forward with rude impetuosity, and great noise, between rocky creeks—now in broad and even flow, and now breaking into innumerable light ripples, as it rolled over a stony and undulating bed. Each day's journey carried them into a wilder region, where nature was more strange, and man more unsophisticated. The Indian huts were observed to be more primitive, whilst, in proportion as the comforts of civilization diminished, the curious customs of savage life seemed to multiply.

The Jurunas, inhabiting the bank of the upper portion of the Xingu, are a race of miserable and ignorant savages, whose ideas correspond with their low condition of life. They believe in a being from whom comes all good, and whose habitation is somewhere near the moon. The luminary of night, indeed, is an object of devout adoration; and her course in the sky is regarded as the march of a gentle and beneficent, but powerful being, through realms of happiness untravelled save by the favoured dwellers in Elysium. The belief also exists in a spirit of contrary attributes. Festivals and religious dances are much in favour with them, as among most lazy nations. The men spend their lives in the utmost indolence, lounging on their couches, and attended upon by their wives, who labour, bear burdens, prepare food for their husbands, and even carry it to their mouths;—so lordly are the Juruna warriors, whose theory of the whole duty of man is, that he should fight for glory, for the defence of his home, and for the independence of his tribe. However, they are not wholly idle, as may be inferred from Prince Adalbert's account of them:—

‘The number of Jurunas amount to about two thousand; they are, therefore, one of the largest tribes, and are reckoned among those who are neither cannibals nor hostile to the whites. They live in roomy and comfortable huts, constructed of palm-leaves; three families usually occupying one dwelling. They are faithful in marriage, though some have several wives; and they occasionally transfer them, either temporarily or altogether, from one to another. They grow cotton, which the women spin into thread, and manufacture into

hammocks or aprons, on large wooden frames; they also prepare assu-oil, and rear domestic animals, fowls, and dogs. The simple products of their industry they barter at Sonzel, for knives and axes.' —*Ib.* p. 320.

The Jurunas form one out of twenty-three tribes which Prince Adalbert enumerates: of these some are cannibal and ferocious; others, gentle in peace and cowardly in war. The Tapui-uassu, described by the Jurunas as a race of man-eaters, of gigantic stature, skilful in the art of the bow and the spear, are warlike, and, therefore, much feared throughout the whole region. The Impindei, on the contrary, are so dwarfish, that, it is said, a man of ordinary size cannot stand erect in their huts. The Indians say they rear horses and cattle, in great numbers; in proof of which, large horses are shown which have been brought from their country. Altogether, indeed, the tribes inhabiting this remote and unknown region of the Upper Xingu may be described as among the most singular divisions of the human race. Little information, indeed, has been diffused concerning them. We scarcely know, it may be said, more than that they are worth knowing; and if Prince Adalbert's work throws a glimmer of light upon that wonderful region, it cannot be said to have dispelled the intense gloom which still clouds it from the curious eye. At Piranaquara, a small island in the stream, the upward journey was concluded. To trace the river, in its further wanderings, to the source, would have been a gratifying and useful task; but this was deemed impossible, and the descent was accordingly commenced. With that limit of the river-voyage, we must put a limit to the present paper; otherwise, we would gladly float down the Xingu to its junction with the Amazon, and further on to the sea, as companions of the agreeable, entertaining, and informing traveller, with whom we have accomplished the partial ascent of those two mighty rivers. Enough, however, has been indicated to show that Prince Adalbert's opportunities were of no ordinary kind; and it only remains to say, that the medium through which his experience has been laid before us is one of considerable excellence.

The translators, Sir Robert Schomburgh and Mr. J. E. Taylor, have performed their task with much ability and considerable care. The operation of thus naturalizing in this country the productions of a foreign soil, is not always one of easy accomplishment. In the present instance that was especially the case, and the more merit is due to those who have translated the work. We could, if that way inclined, point out some passages where the meaning is clouded by imperfect expression, a few defective phrases, and an occasional error, which we have only, perhaps,

to account for by an oversight in the translators. Such, however, is not our design; and we willingly forget these trifling defects, to congratulate the author of the work on his good fortune in thus finding writers so careful and able to clothe his narrative in an English dress and present it to the English public.

ART. III.—*The Romaunt Version of the Gospel according to St. John; with an Introductory History of the Old Waldensian Version, and Remarks on the Texts of the Dublin, Paris, Grenoble, Zurich, and Lyons MSS. of that Version.* By William Stephen Gilly, D.D., Canon of Durham and Vicar of Norham. (Published by the University of Cambridge.) London: John Murray. 1848.

THIS elegant book, we are informed by Dr. Gilly, is a forerunner only of the entire New Testament, which he trusts to publish in the 'Romaunt Version,' according to a text which was executed, as he believes, in the twelfth century, or two centuries earlier than the celebrated version of Wickliffe. The interest of the publication is twofold; first, as exhibiting to us (if any doubt of it) the active and intelligent zeal of the Waldensian Churches for pure Apostolic teaching; and secondly, as a literary monument of the age, and a most important specimen of the vulgar tongue. Dr. Gilly's deep interest in behalf of the Piedmontese Churches, has long been well known; and we fear that among his clerical brethren, it is by no means a superfluous work to vindicate their orthodoxy and purity. In a short life we have seen no small oscillation of public opinion concerning this—rather, however, by a rise of new parties, than by any real change in individuals. When Milner's 'Church History' was recent, and its credibility unimpugned, the people of Waldo were in high honour, and their name called out warm sympathy. They had, indeed, long been looked upon by expounders of prophecy, as the faithful witnesses who suffered in the evil times when the Beast bore sway; and, for ourselves, we should as soon have thought of renouncing our Protestantism as of sympathizing with Rome against the Waldensians, or Albigensians either. But Mr. Maitland and the High Church have made sharp attacks on one side, and our candid philosophic historians on the other. The Albigensians are denounced as undoubtedly heterodox—mere Manichees; which (it seems to some, we fear) palliates,

and all but excuses, the bloody crusade in which Southern France was depopulated, and the language of the Troubadours received its death blow. Some taint of heresy is accordingly suspected by the orthodox to rest possibly upon the Waldensians also. Our philosophers, moreover, assure us, that the Romish divines of the middle ages, who persecuted various schismatics, were large-minded, cultivated men, aiming at great and unselfish objects, animated by a high ideal—the supremacy of the Church, and conscientiously convinced of their duty to put down these eccentricities; on the other hand, that the sectarians were narrow-minded creatures, whose vision was bounded by the pages of one book, which, after all, they interpreted with slavish literalness, being stupidly unable to conceive that the successor of St. Peter might justly (through the alteration of circumstances) be a temporal prince, and not a poor fisherman. Thus the philosophic historian teaches, that we are to admire the strength of mind of the bishop or abbot who so controlled his own humane feelings as to burn fellow-creatures alive, but that we are to feel neither admiration nor sympathy for the wretched heretic who was narrow-minded enough to endure it. Mr. Maitland farther dissects and pulls in pieces Milner's evidence, with triumphant success; and leaves the reader with uncomfortable suspicions that these Waldensians had no spiritual principles of any depth, but merely disliked fasting, religious exercises, and the priestly yoke; and, therefore alone, rebelled against the pope. If this had been all, it would be, as far as it goes, wholly to their credit, in our judgment; but not so to the High Churchman; and while nothing has been proved against the orthodoxy of the Waldensians, it is evident from Dr. Gilly's tone that he feels there are many who are disposed to question it until demonstrated. Such is, perhaps, his chief incitement to this work; and though to our own feelings it is in that aspect superfluous, we concede to him that it may be by no means so to others.

Since the publication of Raynouard's elaborate work, the materials for judging of the Romance languages have become ample for all historical purposes; yet in a lexilogical point of view we presume none will question the great advantage of having so well-known a book as the New Testament in our hands, executed in those dialects which the Waldensian communities talked. Dr. Gilly defends the phraseology which entitles them *The Romaunt Language*; although he admits to Mr. Cornwall Lewis, against M. Raynouard, that there are strong diversities of dialect. The controversy, perhaps, turns on the question, at what point differences of dialect are rightly called difference of language. The history of these tongues, according to Mr. Lewis, is this:—German invaders subjugated a population speaking

Latin, in France, Italy, and Spain; learned the Latin badly, and broke up its grammar according to methods of their own. The similarity of causes gave rise in all these countries to much similarity of result; but the results are not identical: nor is it correct to represent one of these languages (or dialects) as parent to the rest; they are all co-ordinate in origin. Such a view agrees in outline with the phenomena elsewhere observed. The different languages of India have the elements of a small number of tongues combined in various proportions, with analogous diversities of grammar. The same, we understand, is the case with the dialects of the Armenian and of the Arabic. We presume, however, that the peculiarities of the Gaulish and of the Iberian tongues, must really have aided in increasing the varieties of the Romaunt: at least it is difficult to imagine that these have disappeared without leaving any strong mark, first on the rustic Roman, and next on the mixed Romano-Teutonic.

The study of a tongue in its origin, is very instructive; and we expect that by such publications as this, many persons who are moderately skilled in Latin will be encouraged to follow the language in its disintegration and new birth. To trace the rise of new tenses and moods, of new prepositions and conjunctions, new principles of syntax, throws great light on the whole mechanism of human speech. The modern Greek affords similar opportunities for the student, but the attainments are rarer which could turn it to service. We confess, it does not appear to us that the lessons to be hence derived are all exhausted; or, at least, have been duly read. Augustus Schlegel, in his elaborate essay on the 'Provençal Literature,' which Raynouard's work elicited from him, teaches a conclusion which, we believe, has been widely received—that the progress of language tends always (at least in the whole historical age) towards the *destruction*, and not towards the *creation*, of inflexions and internal significant modifications of words. This would lead us to look on the origin of Greek or Latin as an inscrutable mystery. Yet he himself has traced the formation of the French and Italian future tense to a corruption of the verb *Habeo*: this is an obvious *reconstruction*, of the very same kind as the inflexion of any Greek or Latin tense. To us, it appears, that the *writing* of language is the great cause which prevents the rise of new grammatical formations. It forbids and scolds down the process, as a vulgarism. On the other hand, the mixture of heterogeneous populations appears in all the most prominent instances to have preceded the great break-up of grammatical systems. The Russian population is the purest in Europe, we imagine; and their language has all the complication and inversion of the Latin. The German is the next purest, and it has suffered

(after the Russian) the least disintegration of its grammar. At the other extreme of the scale, no European people has been more mixed than that of England, nor has any grammar been reduced to ruder elements than ours. But no sooner did our population begin to blend into homogeneity, and a single tongue to form itself, than the pen fixed it in its early stage, and arrested all farther grammatical development.

The volume before us is adorned with elegant specimens of the illuminated MSS., and is, in all outward respects, creditable to the University which has liberally defrayed its expenses. We cannot doubt that the same facilities will be farther extended to Dr. Gilly, whenever he is enabled to complete his projected labour of love.

ART. IV.—1. *Aboriginal Contributions to the Exhibition of 1850.*

2. *Programme of the Exhibition of Industry of all Nations.* 4to. London. 1850.

WELL-MERITED praise is given to the conception of this great industrial show. It will enable men of all civilized lands to display, in common, the productions of their ingenuity and the fruits of their taste. Hostile rivalries will yield to sentiments of friendly emulation and goodwill, since all will bring something wherewith to teach a useful lesson, and all will come together with dispositions to learn that lesson. The exhibition of 1851 has, therefore, been correctly designated a grand peace-festival. The salutary influence of this festival on civilized states would alone justify the enthusiasm with which it is hailed. But another more important field, equally open to that influence, has not been forgotten. This is the field of barbarous life—the scene of a long and sanguinary struggle between civilized and uncivilized man. Nevertheless, perpetually as that struggle is renewed after its frequent pauses, there is ample experience of the social capacity of the uncivilized. Despite of extreme poverty in all but merely natural gifts, his progress would be steady, if they who are rich in the results of civilization would exercise a wise and humane policy towards their weaker fellow.

It is good, then, that both—the civilized and the rude—are to be brought together in this muster of the intelligent, and their

works, from all regions. It is honourable to those who direct this remarkable exhibition, that, as the whole material earth is comprised within its range, so the humblest of the earth's inhabitants will not be excluded: and this assemblage of universal contributions will thus become a real *Epitome of Nations*.* A French cosmographer, of the sixteenth century, worthy to be the friend of the good Las Casas, forcibly presents the claims of those poor people to favourable consideration:—‘Men travel,’ says François de Belle Forest, the writer alluded to, ‘to know their brother—not to gratify a restless spirit, not merely to see new animals and new plants. It is MAN, for whose use all things were made, whom we go so far from home to visit; and the wisest of travellers will find something to learn from the most barbarous tribes.’

This sentiment prefaces the history of the New World, the conquerors of which too fatally disregarded the gracious lesson of the excellent cosmographer:—

‘Seeing,’ he says, ‘that many take the natives of this new world to be brutes, I declare my judgment, on the contrary, to be, that their inferior condition is only the consequence of external circumstances; and that Providence has endowed all men equally with reason; and equally imparted a ray of divinity to their souls. I can illustrate this opinion by an anecdote from Peter Martyr, the faithful recorder of the discovery. An old Indian one day, after witnessing with awe the mass solemnized, brought a basket of fruit to Columbus. Being well received, he conversed freely with the great chief of the strangers, and concluded the interview in these words:—

“*We have learned how bravely you encountered the dangers of the sea, to reach an utterly unknown shore. Your hardihood has astonished my people. I implore you, then, since after death our spirits wend their way according to the character of their lives—the cruel oppressor going into gloom, the man of peace to a region of perpetual sunshine—I implore you to be gentle to the people of this land, and to do them no wrong.*”

‘Columbus was surprised at this language, so full of refined philosophy, and so superior to our practice, with all our learning. I adduce it to demonstrate that the new race of Indians are not “brutes.”’

The exhibition of 1851 will furnish an opportunity of establishing the same conclusion, in favour of the right of all mankind to equal justice, by a multitude of material proofs; showing how the rudest of our race have overcome difficulties in adapting natural things artificially to their use; and so have laid the foundations of whatever adorns and enriches refined society.

The Bishop of Oxford sees in the exhibition a display of inventions which constitute ‘mighty steps towards giving back to

* See the Speech of Mr. Hepworth Dixon, at Hull, February 9, 1850.

man his hereditary birthright—his power over the elements, and the command of the material world. When we turn,' said the prelate, 'from the present to the past, and witness the skill with which the loom imitated the productions of nature—what was it but a following of that mysterious hand, beckoning man forward to regain his lost inheritance, received from the Almighty Creator?'"

These thoughts carry us direct to the home of the savage of our time, who preserves to the life, and still practises, the infant arts, also belonging, as is here intimated, to the earliest fathers of mankind.

It is well, then, that in the intended survey of the industry of all, special notice be taken of the *existing industrial elements* to be found among the Esquimaux, the Indians, the Negroes, and the aborigines of the East and the South. 'The Classified Lists of Subjects' to be admitted to the exhibition, as announced by the Commissioners, largely interest these barbarous tribes. 'The raw material of the mineral kingdom, smelting metals, alloys, pigments; many vegetables, dyes, tanning substances, and medicines; animals for food; rude machines and tools, weapons and games, models of bridges and boats, clothing of skins, of vegetables, and even of feathers; ornaments, jewellery, and carved-work; and, finally, architecture;'† are all items in the lists common to the denizen of the wilderness and to the inhabitants of the polished city. The wild man being the chief collector of many of those articles, as well as deeply concerned in their ultimate use, it is our unquestionable duty to help him to share in their display. The display itself must make good and lasting impressions on all who witness it; and in this point of view a wish may be expressed, that the visits of aborigines to England, so often mischievous to themselves, and discreditable to their careless, if not guilty, conductors, may be specially directed to the exhibition of 1851, so that they may return capable of promoting many a lesson of improvement at home.

Thus almost literally, in many respects, will the wish be fulfilled, 'that some museum were formed for all the first rude shapes of those machines, or instruments, which man has invented. The first spade (earth's telescope), the first plough, the first gun (far-shooting telescope of hell), the first compass, the first press, the first footstool, the first looking-glass, reflecting dimly all the aboriginal things! What a peep into the past! How strange the peace and harmony subsisting between all those varied or opposing objects. How silent, yet eloquent, all in their age,

* Meeting at Willis's Rooms, February 21st, 1850, in aid of the Exhibition of 1851.

† Abridged from the Classified Lists of Objects for the Exhibition of 1851.

those grave parents of such a numerous and bustling diversified offspring! And seen above them all, would appear to the mind's eye, dark or bright, in smiles or frowns, in triumph or in horror, at their handiwork, the faces of their inventors.*

In the more intellectual half of this imagery, which brings up to the mind's eye, the portraits of the men of genius who invented the more wonderful instruments of civilized life, our aboriginal contemporaries have much to offer in illustration of the origin of a large amount of what is used by ourselves as well as by them. Nor will the ray of genius fail to be recognised in their quick appreciation of our perfect development of their own rude beginnings. The Esquimaux brought to England by Captain Cartwright, betrayed perhaps their cannibalism, when they were alarmed at seeing John Hunter's anatomical preparations, which they took for the remains of a horrid human feast. But they proved their natural intelligence by quickly understanding the architecture of a bridge over the Thames, at first thought by them to be natural rock; and of course St. Paul's Cathedral, at first taken for a natural mountain, surprised them more when shown to have been raised by men.

'Their admiration,' says their conductor, 'increased as their ideas expanded; till at length they began more clearly to comprehend the use, beauty, and mechanism of what they saw.'

The love of travel and migration was well remarked by George Forster, in his youth the companion of Cook, and in his old age the teacher of Humboldt, to be a distinguishing sign of hopeful intelligence in savages; and, well guided, it may be turned to good account. The abuse of it only deserves rebuke, as in the case of the Indians before the House of Lords in the last century, and in that of the Lascars and Coolies in our time.

The plan of the exhibition of 1851 is exceedingly well adapted to a fair appreciation of the merits of aboriginal productions. The Commissioners require *completeness* in the things exhibited. 'The producing mechanism is to be accompanied with specimens of the *raw material* in the several stages of manufacture, and of the finished product, to make the operation of the machinery intelligible . . . And *complete* series of tools, with specimens of the object, are called for as instructive and interesting.'

Thus the savage *collector* of those raw materials is a real party to the exhibition; and the history of a work, from its first element to its perfection, certainly demands an express reference to the rudest, as much as to the most skilful, workman.

Examples are not wanting of late date to illustrate the value

* Eclectic Review, March 1850, p. 272.

of this connexion of civilized with savage life. The *gutta serena* might have been introduced among us long ago, if the habit of observing the resources of barbarians had been better established in the East. The Peruvian *bark* is very far from being the only medicine which civilized society can borrow from uncivilized South Americans, as can be shown from official documents, which only require to be popularly known to be appreciated. In South Africa, as the learned Professor Lichtenstein correctly conjectured, the native blacksmiths use an alloy which, properly traced, is likely to open a new source of wealth in *tin*, so parsimoniously distributed by nature over the earth. The *hammock*, the very name of which belongs to us only by adoption, is not the solitary article in domestic economy for which we may still go to the same source. The clever construction of charts by the Esquimaux, proves how much knowledge may exist without any participation of our science; and that knowledge may be held to be a sure basis for whatever superstructure of our science proper appliances can be directed to raise in the elementary man.

The study of some usages of the savage may even have a far nobler object than to multiply the conveniences of life and advance science. That study may produce proof of the higher origin and higher destiny that belong to him in common with us, and fully establish the broad line that separates both from the brute. One of those usages is the care with which the rudest savage prepares the burial, and furnishes out the grave, of the dead. The brute is guided by instinct to be vigilant and tender to its young, as we are to our children. The affections shown at the birth of their offspring are scarcely distinguishable from our first feelings for ours. But the resemblance soon ends. The necessities of existence once provided for, the brute no longer knows its kindred, and scarcely its kind. Man, on the contrary, holds on an even course from his cradle to his grave, which, as the portal to immortality, is, in every clime, an object of anxious care—of religious care wherever forms of religion prevail—of care betokening, faintly, the religious sentiment, where all religious forms are lost. There may be exceptions to the rule, but they are few and unimportant.

The models of graves, therefore, such as those of the New Hollander and the Esquimaux, are worthy of close examination; for they are undeniable signs of the sympathy of the living with the departed, and of the hope of the separated to meet again. As objects of art they may be trivial, but as indicating genuine human character, they are beyond price; and partake of the merit claimed by the Lord Bishop of Oxford for the exhibition itself, as a display of inventions which connect man with his Creator. The exhibition of 1851 will certainly comprise models

of cemetery architecture, now become a chief want and object of sanitary improvement, which should be extended to the curious varieties of graves noticed by all intelligent travellers in savage lands.

The more especial friends of the aborigines will find this an excellent occasion for pressing a reasonable attention to their rights; and a definite value may be fixed on the elements of improvement recognisable in their various productions. As the Royal Commissioners have begun the work wisely, so it remains for others to come to their aid. The apportionment of the space of the million of square feet in Hyde Park depending necessarily upon the comparative importance of the contributions, and the aborigines being little versed in the arts of self-commendation, it is essential to help them select what works may be the most acceptable, either for novelty, or to illustrate what is familiar.

It is required, that the aboriginal races shall send specimens of their manufactures along with those of the colonies and countries in which they live. But as some difficulty may be experienced in making them comprehend the objects proposed, the Royal Commissioners have signified a readiness to encourage their taking a proper place in the exhibition. Very little need be done for this purpose beyond an active correspondence with the numerous persons everywhere well disposed towards these people. Many colonists, many public functionaries in the colonies, and all the missionaries, are their friends, with whom the correspondence should be commenced; and the emigrants *now sailing* would be usefully made bearers of the good news. These emigrants would thus be prepared for a career of friendliness towards their future neighbours, by having, at their outset, done them service.

There is one special source of interest on the subject not to be neglected. At all our sea-ports, and in some manufacturing towns, there are public museums, and private collections of aboriginal products, either as curiosities, or as articles of trade. In these towns, especially the sea-ports, numerous individuals also may be found who have retired from various enterprises beyond sea, and are familiar with the ways of savages. Those museums and collections, above all those adventurers, may be consulted with great advantage on the present occasion, to render the aboriginal products the more worthy of notice. Such communications would not only promote the success of the exhibition; but they would stimulate all to be better disposed to the aborigines. Hence, new prospects would be opened to them, and the temporary show produce lasting good.

It is not visionary to anticipate that the prize of ingenuity upon some subjects may fall to the lot of one or two of these

people. Their deficiency in skill is to be compensated by the rare choice of the products. In South America, and in the Indian Archipelago, there is a world of such products, useful as food or medicines, unknown to us after three centuries' intercourse, but familiar to the natives. If that intercourse be carried on more humanely on our parts, those stores of theirs will be readily imparted to us; and the exhibition of 1851 may then be looked upon as a peculiar festival of reconciliation and peace between the invaders and the invaded of the richest domains of nature.

It is highly satisfactory to be able to add, that zealous efforts are making to bring home to the understandings of our native allies over the wide world, this occasion of their presenting themselves, not on an equality yet of progress, but on a level of capacity, with the most civilized. Doubts have been expressed of their ability to comprehend what is thus proposed for them. It is, however, after experience of them in this special field of commercial progress, that we are prepared to testify to their commercial aptitude. Some twenty-five years ago an experiment was made for the Indians of Nova Scotia, by importing specimens of their porcupine quill-work, and curiously painted bark-baskets, for sale at a bazaar. It answered; and a correspondence with an Indian chief at the time, now lying before the author of this article, has the following remarks from him: 'I will write to you hereafter on this favourite idea of yours about trading. I am fully of your mind, and think much good might result from a judicious establishment among the Indians. The persons engaged in this trade should have the full confidence of the Indians, who have lost all respect for Europeans from their frauds.'

Fair access to such assemblages as the exhibition of 1851, will help to check such frauds. Hence might be learned the excellent lesson how 'to persuade the unruly children of the desert to labour cheerfully in our service, and all for their own welfare; and how it is our purpose, besides fair payments, to promote in every manner their happiness and improvement.'*

The due encouragement of aboriginal contributions to the exhibition of 1851, is being provided for by the Royal Commission, in concurrence with the Aborigines Protection Society, whose members will find this an occasion deserving all their care and intelligence.

* Quarterly Review, 1848.

ART. V.—1. *Physical Geography*. By Mary Somerville. London: Murray.

2. *The Physical Atlas of Natural Phenomena*. By A. Keith Johnston. Reduced from the edition in imperial folio. Edinburgh and London: Blackwood.

3. *Atlas of Physical Geography*. By A. Petermann and Rev. Thomas Milner. London: Orr and Co.

THE earth and man! What a subject for the philosopher desirous of learning in the creation in which God has placed him, and of which he forms a part, the evidences of Almighty power and wisdom. How exalted a theme for inquiry and thoughtful meditation. How grand the investigation which, leading us through the consideration of the physical aspect, character, and phenomena of the globe in which we dwell, displays to us the handiwork of Him who is 'perfect in knowledge and excellent in working.' This investigation is Physical Geography. It is, to adopt the concise language of Mrs. Somerville, a description of the earth, the sea, and the air, with their inhabitants, animal and vegetable; of the distribution of these organized beings, and the causes of that distribution. The political or arbitrary divisions of geographers are disregarded—the earth is not merely a parcelled and allotted plot of ground, and the ocean a variously divided pool—to the physical geographer it is more; and he is taught to behold creation, distinguished only as its mighty Author has distinguished it. The grand features stamped upon the sea and land by the hand of the Creator are those only which receive his attention, and man himself is viewed but as a fellow-inhabitant of the globe with other created things, yet influencing them, to a certain extent, by his actions, and influenced in return. When the sister science of astronomy has taken the student of nature through the wonders of the starry heavens, the science of physical geography points his attention to home-objects, and bids him accurately survey that palace of wonders in which God has placed mankind. This science teaches of the earth's figure, points to our rolling spheroid in its annual cycle, investigates its density, its physical construction, the aspects of external nature, and the mysterious processes of its glowing centre. The reaction of the interior upon the exterior of the planet, the constitution and physical and chemical characters of the air and ocean, with their reaction upon the earth's crust and surface, are likewise

subjects of its teaching. Now, with glowing language, the glories of the tropics, with their fantastic vegetation and glittering animated tribes, are discoursed of, and now the gloomy horrors of the ice-bound poles, the thunders of the rending iceberg, the unwieldy sportings of the seal and of the whale. Now it dwells on the wonders of existing phenomena, and of the varieties of the aspect of nature in many lands; and now it unfolds the yet greater marvels of the past, teaching us of the changes which, under the direction of the Almighty hand, have brought the earth to its present fair state. It tells both how the earthquake and the torrent, the august and terrible ministers of Almighty power, have torn the solid earth, and opened the seals of the most ancient records of creation, written in indelible characters in the 'perpetual hills and the everlasting mountains;' and how the same physical forces are at the present moment occupied in the same task for the benefit and instruction of future generations. These remarks render it evident that physical geography is not a distinct science, but rather a combination of the sciences. Geology, hydrography, meteorology, natural history, astronomy, and chemistry, all lend their aid, and, conjointly investigating the relations which subsist between the various phenomena of physical nature, constitute the study of physical geography. How different this from the arid study of geography taught with exclusive reference to the artificial systems of the schools. The student enters here upon a range of inquiry at once the most interesting and the most elevated.

He will here become acquainted with the living and active operations of nature, and the beautiful and appropriate bearings of all her relative dependencies, instead of poring over her dry bones—her unconnected, isolated, and, consequently, barren facts.' He will, to continue to quote Mr. Johnston's forcible expressions, recognise the fact that 'the physical system of the earth is a chain of harmonies intimately connected together, and the result of one grand and comprehensive design, all acting for and in accordance with the general good of the whole. The solid earth, with its diversified surface of hill and valley, rivers and oceans, is the framework and support of the system. The atmosphere forms a gorgeous canopy, for ever dropping dews and moisture to refresh the soil; innumerable vegetable forms live and flourish under these influences; and myriads of organic sensitive beings, in size and form from the smallest point, up to the huge elephant, or intellectual man, people the surface of the earth.'

But to our task. Let the student take down a good map of the world, and regard with attention the conformation of the land, and its proportion to the water surface, and he will become

impressed with the remarkable fact that the largest part of the surface of the globe is not earth, but water. The relative proportion, at a rough estimate, of water to solid ground is as three to one. Looking, again, at the proportion of land contained respectively in the northern and southern hemispheres, it becomes evident that the proportion lying north of the equator vastly exceeds that lying to the south. This may be taken to indicate a prodigious accumulation of internal energy under the northern latitudes, at that time in the early history of our globe, when, at the command of God, the dry land rose out of its enveloping waters. It is evident also that the forces that raised the two great continents above the deep, when viewed in the widest sense, must have acted at right angles to one another, nearly parallel to the equator in the old continent, and in the direction of the meridian in the new. As a consequence of these majestic operations, land and water are very unequally distributed, both in northern and southern, and in the eastern and western hemispheres.

‘ If the globe be divided into two hemispheres by a meridian passing through the island of Teneriffe, the land will be found to predominate greatly on the eastern side of that line, and the water on the western. In consequence of the very unequal arrangement of the solid and liquid portions of the surface of the earth, England is nearly in the centre of the greatest mass of land, and its antipode, the island of New Zealand, is in the centre of the greatest mass of water; so that a person raised above Falmouth, which is almost the central point, till he could perceive a complete hemisphere, would see the greatest possible expanse of land, while were he elevated to the same height above New Zealand, he would see the greatest possible extent of ocean. In fact, only one twenty-seventh of the land has land directly opposite to it in the opposite hemisphere, and under the equator five-sixths of the circumference of the globe is water. It must, however, be observed, that there is still an unexplored region within the Antarctic circle, more than twice the size of Europe; and of the North Polar basin we know nothing. With regard to the land alone, the great continent has an area of about 24,000,000 square miles, while the extent of America is 11,000,000, and that of Australia with its islands scarcely 3,000,000. Africa is more than three times the size of Europe, and Asia is more than four times as large. The extent of the continents is twenty-three times greater than that of all the islands taken together.

‘ Of the Polar lands little is known. Greenland probably is part of a continent, the domain of perpetual snow; and the recent discovery of so extensive a mass of high volcanic land near the South Pole, is an important event in the history of physical science, though the stern severity of the climate must for ever render it unfit for the abode of animated beings, or even for the support of vegetable life. It seems to form a counterpoise to the preponderance of dry land in the northern

hemisphere. There is something sublime in the contemplation of these lofty and unapproachable regions, the awful realm of ever-during ice and perpetual fire, whose year consists of one day and one night. The strange and terrible symmetry in the nature of the lands within the Polar circles, whose limits are to us a blank, where the antagonist principles of cold and heat meet in their utmost intensity, fills the mind with that awe which arises from the idea of the unknown and the indefinite.'—*Somerville*, vol. i. pp. 46—48.

Taking a more particular view of the physical character of our globe, a remarkable correspondence in form is found to prevail in the grand features of various regions. We are apt to regard nature in its various aspects as largely dependent upon accident for the mere circumstance of conformation. The traveller pictures before us the romantic landscapes he has beheld in various regions, but rarely coupled with the remark that the parts of the globe through which he has wandered have the least external similarity to one another. The physical geographer informs him, to his surprise, that when the windings of our continents and seas are narrowly examined, and the more essential peculiarities of their contents contemplated, it is evident that the Author of nature has not wrought after an indefinite number of types or models ; but that, on the contrary, the fundamental types are very few ; the whole of our land and sea, in fact, may, as Mrs. Somerville justly observes, be decomposed into a less or greater number of masses, either exhibiting all these fundamental forms, or merely a portion of them. The peninsular structure of the continents, with their accompanying islands, is a striking illustration of the truth of this remark. It is a highly important fact, that much of this similarity in outward form is connected to a striking degree with similarity of structure also. Hence, as has been ably shown by M. Boué, from the external appearance of an unexplored country, its geological structure may, to a certain extent, be inferred. A correspondence even in the minutest details has been pointed out between the leading features of Asia and Europe, and the identity of their geological structure. Basaltic and trap-rocks give to a sea-coast a black and wall-like aspect ; dolomite assumes the form of peaks with saw-like teeth ; calcareous rocks are rounded ; quartziferous schists are triangularly pyramidical ; and volcanoes are universally recognised by their blunted conical aspect. Thus the experienced student of this science passes through a region, and at every glance receives knowledge deep and abundant ; while the uninformed traveller beholds in the same scenes only the materials for a sketch, or the elements for a poetical description.

The alteration in the level of various regions has in late years

attracted much attention; the results have been productive in facts of great singularity and interest. The changes of level effected by the earthquake are familiarly known; but there exists a phenomenon of a similar character far more stupendous in its operations, though they are of a more gradual nature than the earthquake. In particular, to the north of 56 deg. 3 min. north lat. for 1,000 miles the ground is rising, and at North Cape, it rises at the rate of five feet in a century. South of this latitude, on the contrary, the ground is sinking. The coast of Memel, on the Baltic, has risen a foot and four inches within the last thirty years. During the same period, the coast of Pillau has sunk down an inch and a half; in Greenland, ancient buildings have sunk beneath the sea, and the native, taught by experience, now sedulously avoids the sea-coast for the site of his hut. In our own country, according to Mr. R. Chambers, we possess geological evidence of a general upheaval of the land, in the 'ancient sea-margins' to be traced in various districts.

'In the Old World,' writes Mr. Johnston, 'hitherto three localities were known, on which the phenomena of upheaving by subterranean force was visible; namely, Scandinavia, and other countries of the Baltic generally, the west coast of Italy, and the coasts of Cutch, between the mountains of India and Gujerat. A fourth territory of upheaving became known in 1840, by means of the nautical measurements of the brig *Childers*, on the west coast of Aracan. From these it appears that the island of Reguain, or *Flat Island*, as well as all the other inlets and rocks on that part of the coast of Aracan, is undergoing a process of upheaval. The first symptoms of upheaval appeared about the year 1750 or 1760, on the occurrence of a great earthquake; by which the sea was driven over the land, and the effects of which were felt as far as the city of Ava. An earthquake is said to have occurred 100 years earlier, and the inhabitants believe that a similar phenomenon occurs every century.'—*Johnston*, p. 6.

To what physical forces are we to attribute these magnificent operations. They have been accounted for on the supposition, that beds of rocks of immense thickness, on being heated by contact of melted matter below, expanded in consequence, and in so doing, imperceptibly raised the level of the overlying surface. This view is by no means improbable. It is well known, that beneath the shell of our globe exist stores of matter intensely heated, perhaps in a molten condition, and if so, in all probability subject to secular movements—to a sort of ebb and flow, which, by ultimately heating the rocky crust, might be considered to account for the alterations of level to which we have alluded; on its retreat contraction from cooling would follow, and sinking of level would be the result. Considerations such as these oppress the finite mind, and man, even fortified by philosophy, and sus-

tained by religion, trembles as he remembers the elemental strife from which but a few miles of solid rock remove him.

From thoughts labouring big with the dynamics of the interior of our globe let us turn, and, ascending the mountain slope, let us contemplate the phenomena of glaciers—those wondrous productions of nature which ‘begin in the clouds, are formed in the mountains, and end in the ocean.’ As we ascend, we pass a cottage with a snow-covered roof, and from its eaves we may behold pendent, and glittering with the prismatic colours, the miniature type of a glacier. ‘A glacier,’ writes Mr. Johnston, ‘may be compared to an icicle depending from the snow-covered roof of a cottage, which, gradually becoming thawed by the sun’s heat, conveys the water of the melted snow in a trickling stream to the ground below.’ Let the mountain, its head wrapt in clouds, and enveloped with snow, take the place of a cottage roof, and at its base will lie the stupendous glacier, the anti-type of the dripping ice-pendant. But let us listen to Mrs. Somerville’s animated account of them:—

‘These ice-rivers, formed on the snow-clad summits of the mountains, fill the hollows and high valleys, hang on the declivities, or descend by their weight through the transverse valleys to the plains, where they are cut short by the increased temperature, and deposit those accumulations of rocks and rubbish, called moraines, which had fallen upon them from the heights above; but their motion is so slow, that six generations may pass before a stone fallen on the upper end of a long glacier can reach the moraine. In the Alps the glaciers move at the rate of from twelve to twenty-five feet annually, and, as in rivers, the motion is most rapid in the centre, and slower at the sides and bottom, on account of friction. It is slower in winter, yet it does not cease, because the winter’s cold penetrates the ice, as it does the ground, only to a limited depth. Glaciers are not of solid ice; they consist of a mixture of ice, snow, and water; so that they are in some degree flexible and viscous, but acquire more solidity as they descend to lower levels; evaporation goes on at their surface, but they are not consumed by it. The front is perpetually melting, but maintains a permanent form; it is steep and inaccessible, owing to the figure of the ground over which it tumbles in its icy cascade, sometimes 1,000 feet high. The middle course is rather level, the higher part very steep, and the surface is uneven, and rent by crevices, into which the purest blue streams fall in rushing cascades while the sun is up, but they freeze at his setting, and then a death-like silence prevails. The rocks and stones that fall on them from the surrounding heights, protect the ice below from the sun which melts it all around, so that at last they rest on elevated pinnacles till they fall off by their weight, and in this manner those numerous pyramids are formed, with which the surface is bristled. Throughout much of the length of a glacier, the winter’s snow melts from its surface as completely as it does from the ground; it is fed from above, for in the upper part the snow never melts, but

accumulates in a stratified form and is consolidated. In some of the largest glaciers, where there is a difference of 4,000 feet in height between the origin and termination, the pressure is enormous and irresistible, carrying all before it; even the thickest forest is overwhelmed and crushed.'—Pp. 73, 74.

Let us turn from the contemplation of these grand phenomena, indicative of the immense influence exercised by temperature upon the physical aspect of certain parts of our globe, to the more sunny and fervid regions of India. In this vast country, embodying within itself every variety of climate, from tropical heat and moisture, to the genial temperature of Southern Europe, the production and deposition of rich alluvial soil is better exhibited than in any other region of the globe. Magnificent rivers, bearing down mud and detritus from the high table-lands, roll through fertile plains, and are constantly adding to their extent by the deposits in the Deltas at their mouths :—

'The valley of the Ganges is one of the richest on the globe, and contains a greater extent of vegetable mould, and of land under cultivation, than any other country in this continent, except, perhaps, the Chinese empire. In its upper part are Sirhind and Delhi, the seat of the ancient Mogul empire, still rich in splendid specimens of Indian art, and partly arid, although in the latter there is fertile soil. The country is beautiful where the Jumna and other streams unite to form the Ganges. These rivers are often hemmed in by rocks and high banks, which in a great measure prevent the periodical overflow of the waters; this, however, is compensated by the coolness and moisture of the climate. The land gradually improves towards the east, as it becomes more flat, till at last there is not a stone to be seen for hundreds of miles down to the Gulf of Bengal. Wheat and other European grain are produced in the upper part of this magnificent valley, while in the south every variety of Indian fruit, rice, cotton, indigo, opium, and sugar, are the staple commodities. The ascent of the plain of the Ganges from the Bay of Bengal is so gradual, that Saharampore, nearly at the foot of the Himalaya, is only 1,100 feet above the level of Calcutta; the consequence of which is, that the Ganges and Brahmapootra, with their branches, in the rainy season between June and September, lay Bengal under water for hundreds of miles in every direction, like a great sea. When the water subsides, the plains are verdant with rice and other grain; but when harvest is over, and the heat is intense, the scene is changed—the country, divested of its beauty, becomes parched and dusty everywhere, except in the extensive jungles. It has been estimated that one-third of the British territory in India is covered with these rank, marshy tracts. It was estimated by Lord Cornwallis, and confirmed by Mr. Colebrooke, that a third of the East India Company's territory is jungle.'—Pp. 124, 125.

The earthquake and the volcano, together with every other external evidence of the reaction of the world within upon the

world without, form a highly interesting part of the study of physical geography. Of late these phenomena have received much elucidation from the researches of philosophy; and though we are still unable to assign a cause sufficient to account for the whole of them, yet many of the mysterious, or even absurd, theories which formerly enveloped these phenomena have been swept away. It is now generally believed that gases, liquids, mud, and melted lavas, all issue from the earth under similar relations; and all owe their temperature and their chemical nature to the place of their origin, and the degree of pressure to which they have been subjected. Confining our attention to the volcano, we behold in it a majestic display of the power of the chemical forces acting from within. This may be, to some extent, measured by the enormous amount of lava ejected in a single case of volcanic excitement. Thus, as we are informed by Mr. Milner, the solid contents of a current from Vesuvius, in 1737, which destroyed Torre del Greco, and ran into the sea, are computed at 33,587,058 feet—equal to a cone nearly the height of St. Paul's—with a base diameter of 630 feet. Another current, in 1794, was supposed to contain 46,098,766 feet. But the most prodigious fiery flood on record was one which desolated a number of villages in Iceland, and added to the marvels of that year of wonders and of dismay, 1783. The lava flowed in two nearly opposite streams—50 miles in one direction, and 40 in the other, with respective breadths of 15 and 7 miles, and with an average depth of 100 feet. The mass has been calculated at nearly twenty thousand millions of cubic yards, or forty thousand millions of tons, which, accumulated, would cover London with a mountain rivalling the Peak of Teneriffe! It might be supposed that the mean diameter of the earth must be augmented by the incessant pouring forth of these lava-streams from its glowing interior. In reality, the effect is very trifling. The elevation is counterbalanced by the depression resulting from the falling-in of internal cavities, so that the general result is simply an 'augmentation of the heights and a deepening of the depths.' The phenomena of volcanic action are well described by Mr. Johnston and Mr. Miller—perhaps most vividly by Mrs. Somerville.

'An explosion begins by a dense volume of smoke issuing from the crater, mixed with aqueous vapour and gases; then masses of rock and molten matter, in a half-fused state, are ejected with tremendous explosion and violence; after which the lava begins to flow, and the whole terminates by a shower of ashes from the crater—often the most formidable part of the phenomenon, as was experienced at the destruction of Pompeii. There are several volcanoes which eject only streams of boiling water, as the Volcano de Agua, in Guatemala;

others pour forth boiling mud, as in the islands of Trinidad, Java, and Cheduba, in the Bay of Bengal. A more feeble effort of the volcanic force appears in the numerous solfataras. Hot springs show that the volcanic fire is not extinguished, though not otherwise apparent. To these may be added, acidulous springs, those of naphtha, petroleum, and various kinds of gas—as carbonic acid gas, the food of plants, and, when breathed, the destruction of animals, as is fearfully seen in the Guero Upas, or “Valley of Death,” in Java. It is half a mile in circumference, and about thirty-five feet deep, with a few large stones, and not a vestige of vegetation on the bottom, which is covered with the skeletons of human beings, and the bones of animals and birds blanched white as ivory. On approaching the edge of the valley, which is situate on the top of a hill, a nauseous sickening sensation is felt, and nothing that has life can enter its precincts without being immediately suffocated.’—Pp. 259, 260.

A large share of scientific attention has been bestowed upon the ocean in its various relations to man, and in its physical and chemical phenomena. In particular, the currents of the ocean have been studied both with success in a scientific point of view, and with a highly advantageous result to commercial intercourse and the art of navigation. The influence of ocean currents in navigation, and of the benefits conferred by science on commerce, are singularly illustrated by an anecdote related by Lieutenant Maury:—A fine frigate and another vessel left a port of the United States for Rio de Janeiro at the same time. The officers on board the frigate, it is to be presumed, scoffed at science, and the ship took one hundred days in performing her voyage; the captain of the other vessel had a wiser head, and called in to his aid a valuable chart of ocean currents just constructed—and he had the surprise and satisfaction of reaching the same port in thirty days! It is one of the chief points of a seaman’s duty,’ shrewdly observes Captain Basil Hall, ‘to know where to find a fair wind, and where to fall in with a favourable current. If we take a globe, and trace on it the shortest route by sea to India, and then fancy that such must be the best course to follow, we shall be very much mistaken. And yet this is very much what our ancestors actually did, till time and repeated trials, and multitudinous failures, gradually taught them where to seek for winds, and how to profit by them when found.’ Such was the method of navigation by ‘rule of thumb,’ and in total ignorance of physical geography. Such is the influence of oceanic currents, that Colonel Sabine mentions, on his voyage from Sierra Leone to New York, he made almost a fourth part of the route by their assistance: of 9,000 miles through which he sailed, the ship was carried 1,600 miles by currents.

Reluctantly we cease to draw upon these volumes for further illustration of the noble science which they so admirably illus-

trate. Little need be said in reference to Mrs. Somerville's work; her known reputation in the scientific world being in itself a guarantee for the character of her performance. It is important, however, to the student that we should add, that her work and Mr. Johnston's excellent 'Atlas' are well calculated for illustrating each other; and the latter, indeed, forms an acknowledged companion to Mrs. Somerville's volumes. This atlas is executed with remarkable care; and is as accurate, and, for all educational purposes, as valuable, as the splendid large work which has now an European reputation. Mr. Milner's is also a valuable work for the use of the student. The plates are cleverly executed, and the letter-press has an abundance of excellent woodcuts, which give a highly popular and attractive appearance to this volume. Mr. Milner's part is executed with his usual fidelity to the state of present science.

The physical geographer deals with exalted truths; but they should be treated in the spirit of reverence and piety—for they are but developments of the wisdom and power of the all-glorious Creator of heaven and earth. Science may thus become the handmaid of religion; and the Christian philosopher will be the man who drinks to his own deepest refreshment of streams of knowledge sanctified and purified by those of grace.

ART. VI.—1. *Le Moniteur des Indes Orientales et Occidentales, Recueil de Mémoires et de Notices Scientifiques et Industriels, de Nouvelles et de Faits Importants concernant les Possessions Néerlandaises d'Asie et d'Amerique, publié sous les Auspices de S. A. R. Monseigneur le Prince Henri des Pays Bas. Avec la Cooperation de plusieurs Membres de la Société des Arts et des Sciences de Batavia. Par Ph. Ir. de Siebold et P. Melvill de Carnbée. La Redaction Française confiée aux Soins de M. F. E. Fraissinet. La Haye. 1847. &c. &c.*

2. *Singapore Free Press*, from 1846 to 1850.

WHEN we direct attention to the state of any foreign country, one of our first inquiries respects the amount of its population; which forms for us the measure of its refinement, of its progression in the useful arts, and of the advantages we may hope to derive from trading with it. According to some liberal calculators, the Japanese empire contains a hundred millions of inhabitants, which others, with greater judgment or caution,

reduce to forty or fifty millions. It is a question on which we can at present arrive at no certainty, though, from all the circumstances which have come to our knowledge, we may infer that the population is immense; since, according to the estimate of some historians, it contains thirteen thousand cities, and upwards of nine hundred thousand towns, villages, and hamlets. Ancient writers attributed to the valley of the Nile twenty-two thousand cities, with a population of seven millions, which would allow a very few inhabitants for each. The same random kind of expression may be employed in estimating the population of Japan, the capital of which was already, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, supposed to contain a million and a half of individuals.

One fact only we may assume to be proved—namely, that Japan is extremely populous, though, from various circumstances in its political condition, we are disposed to think that it is much less so than it ought to be. But whether this be the case or not, there can, we presume, be no doubt that it would be highly advantageous to the people of Great Britain to open up a trade with Japan, from which all Europeans but the Dutch have been rigidly excluded for upwards of two hundred years.

There was a time, as our readers are probably aware, when the English had factories in Japan, and carried on with it a considerable trade. The foundations of this were laid during the reign of Queen Elizabeth, by William Adams, of Gillingham—a master in the navy of that queen, who, through love of adventure, joined a Dutch squadron then proceeding to the Pacific, and, after many adventures, was wrecked on the coast of Japan, where he remained, a sort of princely prisoner at large, to the end of his life.

Adams seems to have adopted the philosophy of the Arabian prophet, with a slight inversion of his maxims, and to have thought that, if he could not go back to England, the next best thing was to bring as much as possible of England out to him. Having ingratiated himself, by various means, in the favour of the emperor, he laid for his countrymen the foundation of a trade with Japan, which, had it been vigorously carried on, would have proved no less important and profitable than that of China. For several years it flourished vigorously; but, under the timid and ignorant government of James I., the English flag was withdrawn from those distant seas, and the general expulsion of Europeans having soon afterwards followed, our intercourse with Japan was interrupted, and has never, up to this day, been renewed.

It may, however, be worth while to consider whether it would not be for the interest of Great Britain, as well as of Japan

itself, to put an end to a policy which has no longer any distinct aim. What the Japanese feared at the beginning of the seventeenth century, was the overrunning of their country by Catholicism, and its consequent subjugation by the Portuguese. For this apprehension there is no longer any ground. The flag of Portugal has almost entirely disappeared from the Eastern seas; and that of Holland, which has succeeded to it, bears no menace to Japan, where, on the contrary, the Dutch have long been content to act the part of the most servile and degraded of traders.

From various indications, it is reasonable to infer that the Japanese themselves have discovered that there is no longer any necessity for adhering to those political maxims behind which they formerly took shelter. Gradually, and as it were by stealth, they have laid aside their hostile timidity, and evinced a desire to be again admitted into the great family of mankind. No truth in political philosophy is more certain than that it is not good for nations to be alone. Isolation means barbarism. It is one of the most obvious laws of humanity, that there can be no civilization without general intercourse—that society renders men better, not worse—and that to shut up nations and individuals from the rest of their kind, is sure, like chaining up a dog, to engender fierceness and ferocity.

For a length of time isolation produced this effect upon the Japanese, who became the most savage and insolent of men. But even poisons lose their force, by length of time and diffusion. The Japanese have grown weary of standing apart, and, experience having in a great measure emancipated their rulers from their jealousies and suspicions, the time may at length be said to have arrived for restoring that great country to the circle of human brotherhood and civilization.

In order, however, to accomplish this, we must ourselves consent to depart a little from our established notions. We consider we do honour enough to any foreign government, if we send an envoy in a cockboat to treat with it; and if all men were rational, this would really be the case, since it is not the appearance, or mode of conveyance, but the nature of the mission, that reveals the quality of our sentiments, and proves us to be respectful or otherwise. But the ideas of Asiatics are not our ideas. With them, princes and courtiers are accustomed to measure their own consequence by the amount of grandeur displayed by those who approach them. This may be extremely unphilosophical; but the fact being so, we ought, in common prudence, to recognise its existence, and to regulate our proceedings accordingly. But what hitherto has been our policy? Why, instead of humouring the Japanese taste for pomp and magnificence, we have affected to be a nation of Quakers, and

presented ourselves before them in the meanest, not to say the most miserable, guise. The result has been what any statesman would have foretold. The Japanese have displayed great courtesy and politeness ; but, offended by our want of consideration for them, government has declined to renew commercial relations with us. Now, for what purpose do we keep up a costly navy, if it be not for the advancement of our commerce, the greatest and best instrument of civilization ? Nothing can be more certain than that we need new markets for our goods, which are now accumulating on our hands, and daily depreciating in value ; while the manufacturing population is becoming more numerous, and rapidly augmenting the perplexities of the State. We should, therefore, organize and send out to Iedo a splendid mission, calculated to affect the imaginations of the Japanese, to flatter their government, and to prevail with it by reasons, based on solid proofs of splendour and power, to relinquish its ungracious maxims, and consent henceforward to live in amity, not with us only, but with all civilized communities.

Our readers, perhaps, will remember, and point to the efforts already made, as well by ourselves as by the Americans and French, to effect the purpose we have in view, though hitherto without the slightest success. We have already suggested the reason. Stray captains of vessels, unaccompanied by envoys, and without any regular credentials, have made their appearance like buccancers at Iedo or Nangasaki, and hoping in this way to prevail on a powerful but barbarous government to lay aside the settled policy of centuries. It would, indeed, have been marvellous had their wild expectations been realized.

To make a proper impression on the Japanese authorities, we should send out an armament duly equipped to convey an adequate notion of our power. This would not be regarded by the court of Iedo as a menacing display of force, more especially if the man chosen to be our ambassador were a diplomatist of courteous and polished manners, dignified in demeanour, and disposed in his intercourse with foreigners to make all becoming concessions to their fancies and prejudices. We know too well the blustering and bullying habits, common among naval and military men. With these, a government like that of Japan must necessarily be disgusted. Our ambassador should be one, who, to the winning manners of a Jesuit, unites the simplicity of soul and straightforwardness of a stoic. Such an individual is, doubtless, not easy to be found, but there are, nevertheless, such persons, and the point to be attained is of sufficient importance to justify our government in being at the trouble to search for them.

Some, perhaps, may doubt whether the commerce of Japan be worth throwing open at so great a cost. But, if we consider the extent of the empire, the nature and variety of its productions, and the industry and ingenuity of its inhabitants, all fears of this sort will vanish from our minds. Situated in the midst of the temperate zone, the climate of the Japanese group is highly favourable to the cultivation of the soil, to the ripening of fruit, grain, and vegetables, and to the inspiring of that energy in man which prompts to vigorous exertion. Besides, nearly all the islands abound in material wealth, in coal, in copper, and iron ores, in silver, and in gold. It was this last precious metal that awoke the cupidity and ambition of the Portuguese, and led them to project the conquest of the empire. What they could acquire by honest commerce they despised, though the last ship freighted for Macao is said to have carried away three hundred tons of gold. At present, the mines are comparatively little worked, according to some, through fear of their exhaustion, while others suppose the forbearance to proceed from recondite political motives. But, whatever may be the resources of the islands, nothing will completely develop them but a free commerce with the rest of the world. The impulse communicated to industry by the peddling trade of the Dutch and Chinese, is so insignificant, as scarcely to deserve mention. The value of the cargoes brought annually by the two Dutch ships from Batavia, and by the four Chinese junks from Shanghai or Amoi—the only ones admitted by law—being really so trifling, that it may almost be said to produce no effect at all on the Japanese market. Were free vent allowed to our manufactured goods, a great moral and physical change would speedily be produced, the country would be more carefully cultivated, the working of the mines would be pushed with vigour, and agriculture, in many provinces, would assume totally new features. For example, the growing of tea, which is now limited by the wants of the inhabitants, would be immensely extended, to supply the demands of Europe. Up to the present time, the tea-trees are not, as in China, suffered to usurp whole districts to themselves, and made the exclusive care of large sections of the people. Like hawthorns in England, they constitute the hedges separating field from field, and as they never exceed the height of six feet, and are thinly planted, their shade is never injurious to the meadows that grow up close to their stems. Were the teas of Japan brought into competition with those of China, it is generally believed that the finer sorts of them would obtain a decided preference, especially that kind called the Imperial, now confined to the use of the princes and nobles.

They who have examined the tea districts of China and Japan,

will easily understand why the produce of the latter should be superior to that of the former in delicacy of flavour. Rich and rank soils produce abundant returns, but what is made up in quantity is lost in quality. In Burgundy and Provence, the vines of the plains are greatly inferior to those of the hills, and the coffee of Yemen takes the first rank in the markets of the world, only because it is grown on arid mountains, where the soil, fanned perpetually by pleasant winds, drained by percolation, and dried by the sun, has barely sufficient force to support the delicate organization of the tree. In Japan, where all the islands abound in hills, the finest tea is grown near Meaco, on an elevated mountain, where the earth is kept perpetually bare and clean about the stems, and the greatest care is taken to carry off all superfluous moisture, as well as everything else that could generate unpleasant odours.

Equal in importance would be the cotton-trade of Japan, were the encouragement of a large and steady demand supplied to the industry of the natives. It is generally believed that the vicinity of the ocean is necessary to perfection in the growth of cotton, and this is supposed to explain the superiority of sea island. But there is much also in the soil, the influence of which is sometimes sufficient to produce the finer sorts of cotton without the aid of a marine atmosphere. This is the case in some of the doabs of the Panjáb. Japan would unite the advantage of soil, climate, and sea exposure, for which reason we think our manufacturers are greatly interested in seeing that the mission we suggest is immediately sent out.

Upon the silks of the country we need not greatly insist, their beauty and fineness being admitted by all who have enjoyed an opportunity of examining them. Other articles of commerce, some of which would be suitable to the Chinese market, while others might find a vent in Europe, would be procurable in Japan, such as camphor, medicinal drugs, and naphtha, pearls, varnish, and cabinet-work of the most exquisite delicacy. The want of European trade has produced a very injurious effect on the Japanese population, who have neglected many forms of industry in which they formerly excelled, such as the dying of white goat-skins with the most brilliant and durable colours, and in patterns of rare beauty. Numerous junks were then annually fitted out to fetch these skins from Cochin-China, Siam, and the Malay Peninsula. After which, they were prepared and printed, if we may so express ourselves, at home. The goat and buckskins of the islands still form an article of commerce, but of course merely among themselves, with the exception of the small quantities taken in exchange for European goods by the Dutch and Chinese.

We who trade freely with nearly all the world, can scarcely calculate to how great an extent the almost entire absence of foreign commerce has affected the condition of the Japanese people. Towards the beginning of the seventeenth century they were on the high road to a superior system of civilization. European ideas and improvements were rapidly adopted in the country; an immense impulse was given to maritime enterprises, as well as to all the forms of industry which had of old flourished among them. Had unbroken intercourse continued, it is not unreasonable to infer that they would now have been equal, in many respects, to the nations of Europe; whereas in reality they have ever since been retrograding, like the Chinese. Numerous cities and towns once flourishing have fallen to decay; sea-ports have been filled up or abandoned; the progress of domestic industry has been checked, and the population arrested in its development, by an aggregate of those minute causes which, in their combined operation, influence human society like destiny.

One illustration of the degenerating of the national character may be discovered in the timidity of manner exhibited by the mass of the inhabitants, and even by the mandarins themselves, when the crew of any chance ship of war, that happens to touch upon their coast, enters into the slightest intercourse with the inhabitants. Once their demeanour was manly, proud, and to a certain extent overbearing; in this last circumstance there was doubtless nothing praiseworthy, but it at least showed them to be possessed by feelings of independence and self-respect, which to all appearance they have now lost.

Of the few naval commanders who have touched on the Japanese coast, nearly all have observed signs of apprehension in the public authorities with whom they have been brought in contact. Conscious of their weakness, they have besought, not ordered, them to depart. This was the case with Sir Edward Belcher, who approached Nangasaki in the *Samarang*, and more recently with Commander Mathison, whose letter describing his visit to the vicinity of Iedo has just been communicated to the Geographical Society by the Admiralty. As it may be supposed to indicate the intentions of Government, while it supplies an additional proof of the facility with which they may be carried into effect, we insert it here:—

‘The Japanese interpreter on board, having informed the authorities of the object of my visit, I sent my card, written in Chinese, ashore to the governor, requesting him to receive my visit; to which he replied that out of courtesy to me, and curiosity to himself, he would have been delighted to pay me a visit, and also entertain me ashore, but that it was contrary to the laws of the country for any foreigner to land, and that he, the governor, would lose his life if he permitted me to proceed

any further up the bay. When about eight miles from Cape Misaki, which forms the south-west end of the bay, ten boats, manned with twenty armed men, and five mandarins in each, came alongside. I allowed the mandarins to come on board, when they presented me with a paper, written in French and Dutch, directing me not to anchor or cruise about the bay. Finding, however, that I was determined to proceed, they offered when within two miles of the anchorage to tow me up, which I accordingly accepted. Several boats were stationed around us during the night, forts were lighted up, and several hundred boats were collected round the shore, all fully manned and armed. In return, I had my guns loaded, and requested their boats to keep at a respectful distance during the night. Othosan, the interpreter, was in great dread, saying, that in case we landed, the Japanese would murder us all, and as for himself, he would be reserved for a lingering death by torture. Oragawa appears to be the key of the capital of the empire, and contains 20,000 inhabitants. All the junks going and returning to Iedo must pass the custom-house here; and with a moderate force, the whole trade of the capital might be completely stopped. With an armed steamer the passage up to Iedo might be surveyed; and I was informed that a ship could approach within five miles of the city. Between the capital and the port, an excellent road exists. The mandarins here appear of an inferior class, treated us civilly, and were anxious to gain any information from us, but would give none in return; they took sketches of different parts of the ship, sent us some water, vegetables, and eggs; and then were continually inquiring, when I intended to depart. Mr. Halloran, the master, having made a survey of the anchorage, I weighed, and proceeded to Lemodi Bay, of which an accurate survey was made. I landed at this place, but the mandarins immediately followed, entreating me to return on board; they supplied us with plenty of fish, and sent fifty boats to tow us out. The governor of the province came on board at this place; he lives at a town called Miomaki, thirteen miles off, and was evidently a man of high rank, from the respect shown him by his suite. The Dutch interpreter from Oragawa likewise came on board, with two mandarins, to watch our proceedings. They were, however, doubtless acting as spies on each other.'

From the experience of Commander Mathison, it seems evident that the Japanese authorities begin to look upon the exclusion of foreigners from their country as a thing submitted to rather out of traditional respect for antiquated maxims of policy, than from a conviction of its reasonableness or utility. Precisely the same inference is to be drawn from what has occurred to other visitors. Once when a Bengal merchantman touched at a Japanese port, pretending to be driven in by stress of weather, the inhabitants eagerly engaged in barter, especially for articles of British manufacture. Among these, nothing seems to have pleased so much as our broad-cloths; touching the captain's coat, they inquired if he had any similiar article on board, to which he

was unluckily compelled to reply in the negative. They then said, 'When you come back again, be sure you bring plenty of cloth with you.' Then suddenly recollecting the prohibitions of the law, they added, 'but, of course, you never must come back.'

The method to which mariners have recourse for evading the force of the Japanese code, is extremely ludicrous. A vessel comes into a Japanese port always, of course, through stress of weather. It is called, we will suppose, the *Jane* of Liverpool, and its captain's name is Roberts. The inhabitants freely barter with him, but ostensibly only make presents by way of showing their hospitality. In return, the captain shows his hospitality, also makes them presents, supposed to be of equal value, and thus the transaction is carried on to the satisfaction of both parties; the laws are laughed at, and a taste is created for British goods.

But here, you will say, the affair ceases. Not at all. It would wear a suspicious appearance, were the same vessel, the same captain, and the same crew, to return annually to the port, driven in by stress of weather. Accordingly they never do. But the *Jane* of Liverpool becomes the *Hawk* of Hull, and Captain Roberts becomes transformed into Captain Jones. The mandarins in office have short memories as to persons and things, and never recognise the *Jane* under the appellation of the *Hawk*, or Captain Roberts under the alias of Captain Jones. On the contrary, they are perfect strangers to each other, and though it is said that some knowing winks and nods are occasionally exchanged, as if the parties had a dim recollection of having met before, the comedy is carried on with much gravity, while the edicts of the imperial government are literally obeyed.

If anything could demonstrate the folly of the exclusive system, this humorous practice of setting it at nought must, we think, be sufficient to do so. Rigid exclusion is not, and cannot be maintained, though the trade carried on in this irregular manner is necessarily inconsiderable. But one important fact has been established by it—we mean that the people of Japan, so far from being averse to intercourse with Europeans, have the strongest possible wish to break through the absurd policy of their forefathers, and become like other nations. It seems clear, also, from the conduct of the mandarins, harbour-masters, governors of provinces, and so on, that the authorities themselves would be glad to be furnished with a pretext for conforming to the practices of other nations. For some time past the British government appears to be disposed to second the wishes of the Japanese, since it has directed several naval officers to effect a rough survey of the approaches to the great ports of the group, which it can only have done in anticipation of opening the trade, sooner or later.

Sir Stamford Raffles, a great authority in his day, supposed it probable that Japan would precede China in the career of free-trade, and he attached great importance to the decision of its government on that account. Experience has proved his views to have been erroneous in this respect, because circumstances have thrown open China to the West, while Japan continues to be legally unapproachable. Some persons, swayed by the authority of Von Humboldt, appear to believe that an end will not be put in Japan to the exclusive system, till the piercing of the Isthmus of Panama shall have brought it nearer to Europe by six thousand miles. We should, however, be sorry to see it deferred till then, especially as there exists no necessity for so protracted a delay. We have only to ask and have, that is, if we know how to ask properly. When a great end is to be accomplished, we should not suffer an ill-judged economy to stand in the way of it. We have enough of large ships, frigates, and steamers to spare, and we know of no way in which they could be so usefully employed as in promoting the cause of industry, not in our own country only, but throughout Europe and the East.

In support of our views respecting the facility of overcoming the prejudices of the Japanese government, we quote a passage from the '*Voyage of the Samarang*,' which, though not of course decisive, is yet highly significant. Sir Edward Belcher says:—

'The customary questions as to the object of our visit having been replied to, they commenced by informing me that they had been informed, by a Dutch vessel from Batavia, in 1843, that the *Samarang* would visit them, and that they had also letters through Loo-Choo, from the Meia-co-Shimas, giving a full account of our proceedings in those islands; plainly telling me, however, "that it was forbidden to measure the land in Japan." That the reports were strongly in our favour, stating that we did not enter their towns, or offend their prejudices, but conducted ourselves in accordance with law and good manners, and this had warmed the emperor's breast. They then inquired how long we intended to remain, and upon being informed not longer than three days, unless we could obtain supplies, they not only expressed themselves disappointed, but it was evident from their countenances that some arrangement they had made would be disconcerted. They urged my remaining fourteen days, at the termination of which period orders would come from court, directing the mode of my reception at Nangasaki, and until this was duly notified, I could not land at the city, but might enter the harbour if I wished. As the thermometer at this outer anchorage stood as high as 96 degrees, and we were informed that it was "dreadful within," I preferred my present position, where I could enjoy the freedom of moving about in the boats in pursuit of an object which had to be effected, notwithstanding the vigilance of their numerous guard-boats. The chief of the depu-

tation, a very prepossessing person, of about fifty-five years of age, and excessively polite, informed me that although we could not ourselves visit the shore, he had been instructed to prepare a list of any articles which we required either for the ship or ourselves, and it was fully understood that we were to pay for them, as the *prices* were named for every article mentioned. Fresh meat, vegetables, water, and spars, were noted for the ship, and fruit and some minor articles for the use of the officers. There were many articles of ornament which I wished to purchase, but the reply was, "If you wait fourteen days you will have them, as they must be sent for; and if you wish any particular articles manufactured for you (Japan tables, desks, etc.) they will be ordered, and prepared for you by your return next year, when it is highly probable that you will be permitted to land." In this I am satisfied they were sincere.

'One pertinent question was asked, "Why did the English discontinue trade with Japan?" This I was not prepared to answer, but suggested that the fault might be with the emperor. But they affirmed that he was always well disposed towards the English, and preferred their friendship until the departure of the *Phaeton*. Upon this subject they appeared disposed to enter into some explanation, as they immediately referred to papers which they had with them, stating, as it appeared, minutely, the occurrences of that period, but which our interpreter either did not, or would not understand. The termination of the affair of the *Phaeton* appeared to be that bullocks were demanded for the ship, but were not produced; that men landed and took them by force, and attacked the village near the anchorage, and that she sailed and had never returned, "which made the emperor's heart very sore. The chief in command was speared for his neglect."

From what has been said, it will, we think, be sufficiently clear that nothing but a well-organized mission from Great Britain is now wanted to put an end to the exclusive system of Japan. The advantages to both countries would be immense. We should obtain an extensive and profitable market for our goods; they would be greatly aided towards making progress in civilization. What we propose, therefore, we propose in the interest of humanity; which is never better promoted than by the interchange of merchandise and good offices between great and populous nations.

ART. VII.—1. *The Earlier Prophecies of Isaiah.* By Joseph Addison Alexander, Professor in the Theological Seminary, Princeton, New Jersey. New York, and London: Wiley and Putnam. 1846. Royal 8vo. Pp. lxxii. 652.

2. *The Later Prophecies of Isaiah.* By the same. Wiley and Putnam. Pp. xl. 502.

3. *The Prophecies of Isaiah, Earlier and Later.* By Joseph A. Alexander, &c. &c. Reprinted under the Editorial Superintendence of John Eadie, LL.D., Professor of Biblical Literature to the United Presbyterian Church. Glasgow and London: Collins. 8vo. Pp. 968.

It is not necessary that the notice of every new translation of Isaiah should be prefaced with an elaborate review either of his life and times, as the modern phrase is, or even of his distinguishing characteristics as a prophet. There is probably no book of the Old Testament, if we except the Book of Psalms, which is more frequently perused than his. As a natural consequence, all readers of the Scripture are acquainted with the leading features of his prophetic ministry, and have received a general impression of his peculiar style and imagery. To instance in one particular, all know him as the evangelical prophet, to whom, as we learn from the New Testament, it was given to portray, as with the pencil of history, the rejection, though so long subsequent, the patience, death, burial, and triumph of Jesus, the servant of Jehovah. And probably few have ended a perusal of his glowing pages without a vivid recollection of that scene by which he (chap. xiv.) represents the destruction of the Chaldean dynasty; or a consciousness which they would not willingly lose, of the surpassing beauty and sweetness which pervade the closing chapters.

Something better than vague recollections and impressions is necessary, nevertheless, if we would form a just judgment respecting any work of substantial excellence on Isaiah; whether that excellence consist, as in the well-known translation and notes of Lowth, in elegance and purity of taste, or in a scholarship so comprehensive and accurate, as that which distinguishes Mr. Alexander's. We need not, therefore, apologize for prefixing to our observations on the work before us a few remarks in explanation of the leading characteristics of the book which it professes to represent and elucidate.

1. The *time* in which Isaiah prophesied deserves to be considered. His ministry, if we define its duration by the inscription at the head of the first chapter, was exercised under four kings; if we ascribe to his hand the statement made in chapter xxxvii. 38, under five. On the former supposition he prophesied in the reigns of Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah; on the latter, we must add to these the reign of Manasseh. The former supposition gives us forty-five years as the probable duration of his ministry; the latter, sixty-three. We do not purpose to discuss the question here—the arguments on both sides are fairly given by Mr. Alexander—we merely wish to draw attention to the fact that the understanding of a series of ancient compositions extending over a period of history so long and so eventful as on the lowest supposition those of Isaiah extended over, and reflecting in so many forms, as the predictions of Isaiah do, ‘the very age and body of the times, its form and pressure,’ requires the most careful study of the civil and religious history of the period.

Some parts of the book, indeed, supply the historical information which is necessary to the understanding of them; but these are few, two or three at most, as in chapters xxxvi.—xxxviii., and less perfectly in chapters vii. and viii.; a close acquaintance with the previous or contemporaneous history as elsewhere recorded, is essential to a correct appreciation of the greater number of them. Without this, not only will the occasion on which some of the most important predictions were uttered, escape observation, but the most expressive allusions will be wrapped in impenetrable obscurity. In addition to this, it is often highly serviceable to pay special regard to the chronological succession of the different oracles, which are sometimes related to each other in a manner too faint to be perceived, when there is no clear comprehension of the historical connexion of the facts which they respectively notice. Our meaning will not, perhaps, be immediately obvious to all our readers, but the more thoughtful will expect to find that, as respects the prophecies which take their occasion, as many do, from the existing circumstances of the Hebrew nation, there is an obvious difference in tone, subject, and style, between those of different reigns. ‘The first two reigns,’ for instance, to which the ministry of Isaiah belonged, were, as Mr. Alexander remarked, in his Introduction, ‘exceedingly prosperous, although a change for the worse appears to have commenced before the death of Jotham, and continued through the reign of Ahaz, bringing the State to the very verge of ruin, from which it was not restored to a prosperous condition until long after the accession of Hezekiah. During this period, the kingdom of the Ten Tribes, which had

flourished greatly under Jeroboam II., for many years contemporary with Uzziah, passed through the hands of a succession of usurpers, and was at length overthrown by the Assyrians in the sixth year of Hezekiah's reign over Judah.' In explanation of the kind of assistance which may be obtained from Dr. Alexander's work in historical questions we will give an extract or two presently.

2. Closely connected, as we have seen, with the history of the prophet's time, are the prominent *subjects* of his ministry. As wars, both intestine and with heathen nations, were events of which he heard and saw too much, they are no less conspicuous in his writings. The first chapter represents the people and their land as smitten with calamity upon calamity, laid waste and devoured by successive inroads of their heathen enemies, till 'the daughter of Zion is left like a shed in a vineyard, like a booth in a cucumber field, like a besieged city.'* The same picture often recurs, sometimes as the representation of the existing state of things, sometimes as the vision of a future and still more thorough desolation. It is obvious, however, that these descriptions are never the principal subject of the oracles in which they occur; they are always connected in the prophet's mind, and almost always in his writings, with the people's transgressions, their idolatries, their oppressions of the poor, their wantonness, their formality. There are not, perhaps, in Isaiah so many passages as there are in Jeremiah, which remind us, by their verbal closeness, of the denunciations in Leviticus and Deuteronomy, but it is no less obvious, on the whole, that Isaiah's immediate and proper function is to enforce by warnings, threatenings, and promises, fidelity to the theocratic constitution, formally established at Mount Sinai. The greatness, power, and sovereignty of Jehovah, as contrasted with the vanity of idols, are thus, at times, the theme of his addresses to the people, though it is noticeable that the prophet speaks with the greatest earnestness on this point, not when, as in chapter ii., God rebukes the nation for trusting in vain idols, or where when, as in chapter x., He reveals the overthrow of Assyria, but when, as in chapters xl. and xli., He would win His faithless people back again to a dutiful confidence in His love and power. It is worthy of observation, how habitually, on the one hand, the threatenings of Jehovah refer to His people's obligations to Him as their God and King, and how, on this other, His promises are the outpourings of His spontaneous grace. The latter, indeed, is too obvious to be questioned; and God's free, undeserved mercy,

* Dr. Henderson's translation, which is, in our judgment, often very felicitous.

as declared in such passages as Isaiah xl. 1, 2; xliii. 1—7, has been, and very properly so, the frequent theme of Christian preaching since the Reformation, but we doubt if equal justice has been done to another aspect of the same divine perfection; we mean God's goodness, as seen in the contingency and reversible character of His threatenings. It is true that, through the obstinacy and infatuation of the people to whom those threatenings were directed, the execution of them was not averted; but there is abundant evidence in many of the threatenings themselves that repentance would, in Israel's case, as in Nineveh's, have averted their fulfilment, and the actual unhappy issue of God's long-suffering did not alter the contingent character of his declarations as an appeal to his responsible creatures; and that is, therefore, a very erroneous view of the prophetic ministry which separates its predictive from its moral functions, and, exalting the former at the expense of the latter, treats much as absolute prediction which was not uttered in that character. The absolute ness of prediction is, however, far more evident with respect to promises, and it is, accordingly, in connexion with the latter, as addressed to the national or fleshly Israel, that the prophet, glowing with his theme, bursts forth in those enraptured revelations which apostles and evangelists so unhesitatingly and habitually apply to catholic, or regenerated Israel. It is these revelations which more than anything else distinguish the oracles of Isaiah. Among the earlier prophecies, chapters ii., viii., ix., xi., contain glimpses of this kind; the later prophecies are redolent of them in almost every chapter. Copiously and gorgeously as Isaiah speaks, when he predicts the overthrow of the surrounding heathen nations, when he utters the burdens of Damascus, Philistia, Egypt, Moab, Ammon, Edom, Assyria, or Babylon; and forcible and heart-stirring as are his expostulations, threatenings, and promises to Israel, according to the flesh; there is evidently nothing which so engrosses his soul as the vision of God's Israel, in her deliverance from national exclusiveness, and her matured and final development as a universal Church, redeemed and made righteous, holy, and glorious, by the anointed Son of David.

3. The style and *imagery* of Isaiah have always imparted a peculiar interest to his writings. His style is full of vivacity, and variously and richly figured. It exhibits those oriental favourites, the paronomasia (chap. v. 8), and allegory (chap. v. 1—7), and abounds in nobler examples of those figures which constitute the greatest ornament and strength of classic poetry and eloquence—the simile, prosopopœia, apostrophe, interrogation. Striking instances of these occur in chapters i. and xiv. It is Isaiah's manner, occasionally, after he has expressed a thing figuratively,

to repeat his thought literally. Of this chapter i. verses 5—7, are a well-known example. But it is impossible to do justice to Isaiah's style by any description. Those only who are familiar with it, and have compared it to that of other great writers of antiquity, especially Homer, Demosthenes, and the tragic poets of Greece, can adequately estimate its force, variety, elevation, and richness. In his oracles the highest poetry becomes the vehicle of the prophetic vision. The inspiration of the prophet and the poet are in him combined. A higher natural genius, probably, than was ever exhibited by any godless man, is in him subservient to the influence of an inspiration revealing the most exalted conceptions of goodness, truth, and greatness, which were ever set forth in human language.

In order to show how Mr. Alexander's work is adapted to assist the historical inquiries connected with Isaiah, we shall extract from his Introduction to the 'Earlier Prophecies,' the account which he has given of the state of the various heathen nations in the prophet's time. This passage immediately follows the few lines which we quoted above respecting the kingdom of the Ten Tribes.

'Among the neighbouring powers with whom Israel was more or less engaged in conflict during these four reigns, the most important were Damascene Syria, Moab, Edom, and the Philistines, who, although resident within the allotted bounds of Judah, still endeavoured to maintain their position as an independent and a hostile nation. But the foreign powers which chiefly influenced the condition of South-Western Asia during this period, were the two great empires of Assyria in the east, and Egypt in the south-west. By a rapid succession of important conquests, the former had suddenly acquired a magnitude and strength which it had not possessed for ages, if at all. Egypt had been subdued, at least in part, by Ethiopia; but this very event, by combining the forces of two great nations, had given unexampled strength to the Ethiopian dynasty in Upper Egypt. The mutual jealousy and emulation between this state and Assyria naturally tended to make Palestine, which lay between them, a theatre of war, at least at intervals, for many years. It also led the Kings of Israel and Judah to take part in the contentions of these two great powers, and to secure themselves by uniting, sometimes with Egypt against Assyria, sometimes with Assyria against Egypt. It was this inconstant policy that hastened the destruction of the kingdom of the Ten Tribes, and exposed that of Judah to imminent peril. Against this policy the prophets, and especially Isaiah, were commissioned to remonstrate, not only as unworthy in itself, but as implying a distrust of God's protection, and indifference to the fundamental law of the theocracy. The Babylonian monarchy, as Hävernicks has clearly proved, began to gather strength before the end of this period; but was less conspicuous, because not yet permanently independent of Assyria.'

'The two most remarkable conjunctures in the history of Judah

during Isaiah's ministry, are the invasion by the combined force of Syria and Israel in the reign of Ahaz, followed by the destruction of the kingdom of the Ten Tribes, and the Assyrian invasion in the fourteenth year of Hezekiah; ending in the miraculous destruction of Sennacherib's army, and his own ignominious flight. The historical interest of this important period is further heightened by the fact, that two of the most noted eras in chronology fall within it; viz., the era of Nabonassar, and that computed from the building of Rome.—*Introduction to the Earlier Prophecies*, pp. 21, 22.

The particular history which may be the occasion of a particular prophecy is usually given with equal clearness and succinctness. The following is the historical statement which introduces the remarkable predictions respecting the Immanuel of chapter vii. :—

'Ver. 1. Rezin, the King of Damascene Syria, or Aram, from whom Uriah [Uzziah] had taken Elath, a port in the Red Sea, and restored it to Judah (2 Kings xiv. 22), appears to have formed an alliance with Pekah, the murderer and successor of Pekahiah, King of Israel (2 Kings xv. 27) during the reign of Jotham (2 Kings xv. 37), but to have deferred the actual invasion of Judah until that king's death, and the accession of his feeble son—in the first year of whose reign it probably took place with the most encouraging success, as the army of Ahaz was entirely destroyed, and 200,000 persons taken captive, who were afterwards sent back at the instance of the Prophet Oded (2 Chron. xxviii. 5—15). But, notwithstanding that success, they were unable to effect their main design—the conquest of Jerusalem; whether repelled by the natural strength and artificial defences of the place itself, or interrupted in the siege by the actual or dreaded invasion of their own dominions by the King of Assyria (2 Kings xvi. 7—9). It seems to be at a point of time between their first successes and their final retreat that the prophet's narrative begins.'—*Earlier Prophecies*, p. 101.

While the historical information which Mr. Alexander supplies is always to the purpose, sufficient, when such can be obtained, and stated with clearness and brevity, the peculiar excellences of his work appear most prominently when he discusses obscure and contested passages. Without any bias towards neology, as it is called, he is thoroughly acquainted with the views and arguments of the several neological commentators. This is evident, not only from the succinct account of the principal of them, which he has given in his *Introduction to the 'Earlier Prophecies,'* but still more evidently in the more definite notices which their explanations of particular predictions give occasion for. The *Introduction* already referred to contains, indeed, an admirably just exposure of the uncritical principles of their so-called higher criticism, in its application to the genuineness and date of particular portions of Isaiah; but this, we are glad to see, has not

induced Mr. Alexander to neglect their expositions, whether the matter they presented were confirmatory of his argument, or contrary to it. But a single example will outweigh the most lengthened description, and we accordingly extract a portion, and but a portion, of Mr. Alexander's note on chapter ix. 5, 'To us a child is born,' &c.

'The child here predicted and described is explained to be Hezekiah by Jarchi, Kimchi, Aben Ezra, Grotius, Hensler, Paulus, Gesenius, Hendewerk. This explanation is rejected, not only by the older writers, but, among the modern Germans, by Bauer, Eichhorn, Rosenmüller, Maurer, Hitzig, Ewald, Umbreit, Knobel. The *vau* conversive renders the futures וְיָהִי and וְיִקְרָא perfectly equivalent in point of time, to the preterites יָרָא and נָתַן, so that if the latter refer to an event already past, the former must refer to past time too, and *vice versa*. The verse, then, either represents Hezekiah as unborn, or as already invested with the royal office at the date of the prediction, neither of which can be historically true. The attempt to escape from this dilemma, by referring the two first verbs to something past, and the two next to something future, is a direct violation of the laws of Hebrew syntax. Besides, the terms of the description are extravagant and false, if applied to Hezekiah. In what sense was he wonderful, a mighty God, an everlasting father, a prince of peace? The modern Jews, in order to sustain their anti-Christian exegesis, have devised a new construction of the sentence, which applies all these epithets, except the last, to God himself, as the subject of the verb יִקְרָא—and (He who is) *Wonderful, the Councillor, the mighty God, the everlasting Father, calls his* (i. e. Hezekiah's) *name the Prince of Peace*. This construction, which is given by Jarchi and Kimchi, is supposed by some to have been suggested by the Chaldee paraphrase, while others cite the latter as a witness in favour of applying all the names to the Messiah. (See the opposite statements in Vitringa and Henderson.) But how could even the last of those distinctive titles be applied to Hezekiah? Neither actively nor passively could he be called, at least with any emphasis, a prince of peace. He waged war against others, and was himself invaded and subjected to a foreign power, from which he afterwards revolted. To this it is replied, by Gesenius and Maurer, that the prophet may have entertained a groundless expectation. But even this bold conjecture is of no avail against a second objection of a different kind, viz., that a long enumeration of titles belonging to God himself, is utterly irrelevant in speaking of a name which should be borne by Hezekiah. And this objection lies with still more force against Abarbanel's construction, which includes even *Prince of Peace* among Jehovah's titles, and takes יִקְרָא שְׁמוֹ absolutely, in the sense of giving a name, or making famous. The hypothesis first mentioned is exposed, moreover, to the fatal grammatical objection, urged by Calvin and Cocceius, that, according to invariable usage, שְׁמוֹ must have stood between the names of God and the name of Hezekiah. These constructions are accordingly abandoned now, even by some who still identify the child with Hezekiah. These

assume the ground maintained of old by Aben Ezra, that there is nothing in the epithets which might not be applied to Hezekiah. In order to maintain this ground, the meaning of the epithets themselves is changed, **פלא** is either made to mean nothing more than *remarkable, distinguished* (Grotius, Gesenius, Knobel), or is ungrammatically joined with **יעץ**, in the sense of a *wonderful councillor* (Ewald), or *wonderfully wise* (Hendewerk). **יעץ** itself is joined with **אל נבון**, as meaning a *consultant of the mighty God*, a construction which is equally at variance with the Masoretic interpretation, and the usage of the word **יעץ**, which never means one who *asks*, but always one who *gives advice*, and more especially a public councillor or minister of state. (*Vide supra*, chap. i. 26; iii. 3.) But some who admit this explain the next title, **אל נבון**, to mean a *mighty hero*, or a *godlike hero* (Gesenius, De Wette, Maurer), though they grant that in another part of this prophecy it means the *mighty God*. (*Vide infra*, chap. x. 21; cf. Deut. x. 17; Jer. xxii. 18.) **אבי ער** is explained to mean a *father of spoil*, a plunderer, a victor (Abarbanel, Hitzig, Knobel), or a *perpetual father*, i.e. benefactor of the people (Hensler, Doederlein, Gesenius, Maurer, Hendewerk, Ewald), or at most the *founder of a new, or everlasting age* (Lowth), or the *father of a numerous offspring* (Grotius). All this, to discredit or evade the obvious meaning of the phrase, which either signifies a *father* (or possessor) of eternity, i.e. an eternal being, or an author and bestower of eternal life. Possibly both may be included. The necessity of such explanations is sufficient to condemn the exegetical hypothesis involving it, and shows that this hypothesis has only been adopted to avoid the natural and striking application of the words to Jesus Christ, as the promised *child*, emphatically *born for us* and *given to us*, as the *Son of God* and the *Son of Man*, as being *wonderful* in his person, works, and sufferings—a *councillor*, prophet, or authoritative teacher of the truth, a wise administrator of the Church, and confidential adviser of the individual believer—a real man and yet the *mighty God*—*eternal* in his own existence, and the *giver of eternal life* to others—the great *peace-maker* between God and man, between Jew and Gentile, the umpire between nations, the abolisher of war, and the giver of internal peace to all *who, being justified by faith, have peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ*.—*Ib.* pp. 161, 162.

Producing this as an adequate and fair specimen of the way in which Mr. Alexander notices the views and arguments, whether ancient or modern, Jewish or German, which have been produced upon contested passages, and valuing highly the diligence which has collected, and the learning and sound sense which have refuted them, we regret that we cannot speak with equal commendation of the tone of the extract. We object most decidedly to the phrase 'anti-christian exegesis,' and to the imputation of device in order to sustain it. The same objection lies also to the charge that **אבי ער** was rendered *perpetual father*, as by Hensler and others, a *founder of the everlasting age*, as by Lowth, and in other ways, 'to discredit or evade the obvious

meaning of the phrase, which *either* signifies a *father* (or possessor) of eternity, *i.e.*, an eternal being—or an author and bestower of eternal life.' This style is unjustifiable even in professed controversy; we mean when a writer, under a deep impression that some vital truth has been assailed, comes forward as its public advocate, to clear it from misrepresentation or objection. Even of such controversy, it is a fundamental canon that motives shall not be supposed and imputed.* How much less then can such a practice be justified in an exposition?—in which the attitude ostensibly assumed is that of an investigator; and of an investigator, who does not expect or pretend to ascertain the truth by his own unaided learning or sagacity, but accepts occasionally confirmations furnished by the labours of those from whose conclusions he at other times most widely differs! In the present instances, too, how inconsistent and unjust are these imputations! Inconsistent, because, in the very sentence in which Mr. Alexander declares the meaning to be obvious, he says that it signifies either this or that—the two things being different and distinct. And it is equally unjust. How could Mr. Alexander assert, for instance, that Lowth adopted an interpretation to discredit or evade the truth that our Lord either possesses or bestows eternal life? The violation of candour may appear less obvious in the charges brought against the Jewish commentators, more especially when we recollect, what Mr. Alexander has done well to mention, that even by the Jews, the passage under discussion was referred to the Messiah, till the Christian application of it 'drove them from the ground which their own progenitors had steadfastly maintained.' With a full belief that the Jews, as a

* The late Dr. Hey, Norrisian Professor of Divinity at Cambridge, has made some valuable observations on this subject, which we shall take the liberty to append here. The second book of his Lectures treats of *polemic divinity*; and the following is from chapter v., which is entitled, *CANONS OF CONTROVERSY*.

'Canon 5. Let no one accuse his adversary of *indirect* motives. It is not unfrequent in controversy for men to speak as if an adversary did not believe what he said; as if he used arguments, not from opinion, but because it served some purpose of interest, because it supported some cause in which he was joined. To speak thus is, in reality, to make a personal reflection; but it seems proper to observe, separately, that arguments are to be answered equally, whether he who offers them is sincere or not. . . . To inquire into his motives then is useless; to ascribe indirect ones to him is worse than useless—it is hurtful.'

In his second chapter, Dr. Hey had said: 'It is a common fault of controversy to run into *personal* reflections; to endeavour to throw disgrace upon a cause by disgracing those who defend it. If the person of an adversary can be made contemptible or odious, it is reckoned a great thing; and, therefore, all sinister motives are ascribed to him.' He afterwards, in his fifth chapter, produces some examples of the violation of this and the other canons of controversy. The whole book will well repay a careful perusal.

people, are under a blindness, which may be so far called judicial, as God has suffered them nationally to be involved, and that so long, in circumstances adapted to make the Christian faith repulsive to them, we yet do not think that it is right to brand particular expositions as the fruit of anti-christian prejudice. This exposition may be the result not of what is fairly called prejudice, but their view of the analogy of revelation. Most Christian expositors of the present generation have been compelled, by the conviction of the consistency of God's two revelations of 'Nature' and 'Scripture,' to deviate from the previously accepted interpretation of Gen. i. 1—3. What, again, but the presumed consistency of the Christian Scriptures prevents the universal adoption of the Arian or Socinian exposition of John xiv. 28, 'My Father is greater than I?' If, therefore, among ourselves, the *primâ facie* sense of a passage is rejected because it is inconsistent with the analogy of revelation, and another is now sought for which shall harmonize with that analogy, and if this practice is sanctioned by those who have the greatest zeal for what they call orthodoxy, why should it be thought impossible that the Jews should admit and practise the same rule? And why should their doing so be charged to 'the virulence of anti-christian controversy?' We are sorry, though agreeing fully with Mr. Alexander in his impressions that the exegetical concessions of those commentators, whether Jews or Christians, who reject the Messianic application, 'serve to strengthen the most ancient and natural interpretation of this signal prophecy,' that we can quote the remainder of his note upon it, only as an example of the style which every interpreter, but especially every Christian interpreter, should avoid. The italics with which we have distinguished some expressions are hardly necessary to explain our meaning, but they will enforce it:—

'The doctrine that this prophecy relates to the Messiah, was not disputed even by the Jews, until *the virulence of anti-christian controversy* drove them from the ground which their own progenitors had steadfastly maintained. In this departure from the truth, they have been followed by some learned writers, *who are Christians only in the name*, and to whom may be applied, with little alteration, what one of them (Gesenius), has said with respect to the ancient versions of this very text, viz., that the general meaning put upon it may be viewed as *the criterion of a Christian and an anti-Christian writer*. It has been already mentioned that some writers, even of this class, have been compelled to abandon the application of this text to Hezekiah, and that one of the latest and most eminent interpreters, by whom it is maintained, admits that there may be some allusion to the nascent doctrine of a personal Messiah. These concessions, partial and reluctant as they are, serve to strengthen the most ancient and most natural interpretation of this signal prophecy.'—*Ib.* pp. 162, 163.

We gladly return to our previous subject—the comprehensive brevity of statement and discussion which distinguishes Mr. Alexander's volumes. This is one of their greatest excellences, and we do not remember to have ever seen it surpassed; we are not sure that we have seen it equalled. Poole's Synopsis, indeed, frequently presents as much in as little compass; but Poole's notes are not a continuous discussion like the following:—

' Chap. xi. 11. *And it shall be* (or come to pass) *in that day*,—not the days of Hezekiah (Grotius), nor the days of Cyrus and Darius (Sanctius), nor the days of the Macabees (Jahn), but the days of the Messiah—the Lord shall add his hand (or add, to apply his hand) a second time—not second in reference to the overthrow of Pekah and Rezin (Sanctius), or the return from Babylon (Forerius), or the first preaching of the gospel to the Jews (Cocceius), but to the deliverance from Egypt. יָשִׁית is not phonastic (Gesenius), but emphatic. *His hand*, not his arm (Hitzig), as a symbol of strength (Targum), not in apposition with *the Lord*, the Lord even his hand (Hitzig, Hendewerk), not governed by *show* understood (ροῦ δεῖξαι), nor qualifying לקנות (Grotius), but either governed by יִשְׁלַח understood (Luther ausstrecken) or directly by יוֹסִיף (Vulg. *adjiciet manum*). קנות is not the infinitive of קָנָה (LXX. *ζηλωσαι*, Clericus), but of קָנָה. It does not mean merely to possess (Vulgate), but to acquire (Luther), especially by purchase, and so to redeem from bondage and oppression (Vitranga) as מִכָּר is to subject them to it (Gesenius), although the true opposite of the latter verb seems to be פָּדָה (Hendewerk). The *remnant of the people*—not the survivors of the original captives (Aben Ezra, Hendewerk), but those living at the time of their deliverance, or still more restrictedly, the remnant according to the election of grace (Calvin). *From Assyria*, &c., to be construed not with לקנות (Abarbanel), but with תִּשְׁאָר, as appears from v. 16. The countries mentioned are put for all in which the Jews should be scattered. Assyria and Egypt are named, first and together, as the two great foreign powers with which the Jews were best acquainted. *Pathros* is not Parthia (Calvin), nor Arabia Petraea (Forerius), nor Pharosis, in Ethiopia (Grotius), nor Patures, in the Delta of the Nile (Brocard, Adrichomius), but Thebais, or Upper Egypt, as appears not only from a comparison of scriptures (Bochart), but also from the Egyptian etymology of the name (Jablonsky), as denoting the region of the south . . . [then follows an investigation of the names of the places, in order]. This prophecy does not relate to the Gentiles or the Christian Church (Cocceius), but to the Jews (Jerome). The dispersions spoken of are not merely such as had already taken place at the date of the predictions (Gesenius), but others then still future (Hengstenberg); including not only the Babylonish exile, but the present dispersion. The prophecy was not fulfilled in the return of the refugees after Sennacherib's discomfiture (Grotius), nor in the return from Babylon (Sanctius), and but partially in the preaching of the gospel to the Jews. The complete fulfilment is to be expected when all Israel shall be saved. The prediction must

be figuratively understood, because the nations mentioned in this verse have long ceased to exist. The event prefigured is, according to Keith and others, the return of the Jews to Palestine; but according to Calvin, Vitringa, and Hengstenberg, their admission to Christ's kingdom on repentance and reception of the Christian faith.—*Earlier Prophecies*, pp. 228—230.

A more compressed statement and discussion of conflicting opinions than the preceding one, we think it would be impossible to find in any commentary. From some of Mr. Alexander's decisions we must dissent. It is our deliberate judgment, though we cannot now stay to defend it, that the prophecy in question is a prediction of the restoration of the Israelites from their captivity in Assyria, Egypt, Babylon, and other lands, under Cyrus, Darius, and succeeding princes, and that it was literally fulfilled by their gradual return in successive caravans, similar to those which accompanied Zerubbabel and Ezra, as described in the Old Testament. Mr. Alexander's interpretation of several important terms and clauses in the following verse, appear to us powerfully to confirm the view just given.

But though we differ from Professor Alexander on parts of the prophecy just noticed, we do not hesitate to say that the sound judgment which regulates both his arguments and conclusions, is, in general, a marked excellence of his volumes. We consider this quality to be especially displayed in his work on the 'Later Prophecies.' The Introduction to that work is an elaborate dissertation, occupying forty imperial octavo pages, and proving most unanswerably, as we think, the application of a large portion of the later chapters to the Christian Church. In this respect we consider his exposition of the last six chapters in particular, much more correct than Dr. Henderson's, though in the 11th chapter, as we understand it, Dr. Henderson has greatly the advantage, and though in some other places he appears to us to be more correct by interpreting literally what Mr. Alexander interprets spiritually. The recognition of the Christian Church as the subject of many predictions in these later chapters, long accepted as a necessary consequence of the quotations from them in the New Testament, (*e.g.* chap. xlix. 6=Acts xiii. 47; chap. lii. 11, 12=2 Cor. vi. 17; chap. liv. 1=Gal. iv. 27; chap. lxiv. 4=1 Cor. ii. 9; chap. lxv. 1, 2=Rom. x. 20, 21;) appears to us, however, to be in no respect inconsistent with a just view of literal interpretation, though we believe a contrary opinion generally prevails. The Christian Church is the Israel of God (Gal. vi. 6); its stock is Abraham, and its branches are the Remnant in the apostolic time (Rom. xi. 5), believers from the heathen nations grafted in (Rom. xi. 17, 18), and Jews, at first rebellious, and their descendants grafted in again on their

repentance and faith (Rom. xi. 23). This constitutes the Church, which is the *family of Abraham*, containing all who follow him in faith, whether his natural descendants or not (Rom. iv. 13, 16); the one new man, which is neither Jew nor Gentile, but made up of the twain, (Eph. ii. 16). To this Israel, connected naturally with the national Israel, and spiritually with all true believers in Christ, many of the promises in the latter chapters of Isaiah are addressed; and though Israel only, or some equivalent, is mentioned, the full Israel, the Israel which Abraham foresaw, as containing all the nations which should be blessed in him in the day of Christ, is generally intended. We think this view a sufficient and unanswerable refutation of the objection, that it is absurd to say that when Israel is spoken of, the Church, that is, the Gentiles, are meant. The Gentiles never were, are not, and never will be the Church. The Church is not Gentile. It is a society, a multitude, a gathering, a brotherhood, in which the distinction between Jew and Gentile is broken down (Eph. ii. 14), in which it exists no more (Col. iii. 11; Eph. ii. 11).

We regret that we have neither space for further extracts, nor time for further discussion; or even for a more particular description of the volumes before us. To sum up as briefly as possible—we know of no work more likely to be useful to the judicious student of prophecy. For fulness of information it is, for its bulk, unrivalled. In this respect, its size being more than twice, probably three times, as large, it is preferable to Dr. Henderson's. A comparative estimate of their critical and expository character may be partially, though but partially, inferred from what has been said. But we should do Mr. Alexander injustice if we compared his translation with Dr. Henderson's. The latter is a finished performance, in which the elegance and poetry of the original are often beautifully represented. It is distinct from the commentary—stands out of and above it as the flower stands above its stalk. But Mr. Alexander's is, as he expressly tells us he meant it to be, a part of the commentary. It is, therefore, intensely literal, often to obscurity; and much of his discussion might turn almost as well upon it, as upon the original. It has not, therefore, the æsthetic value of Dr. Henderson's; nor can it be separately read with profit or pleasure. At the same time it is, with its commentary, one of the most valuable contributions which has ever been made to our exegetical theology, and, as such, we strongly recommend it to every intelligent person who is anxious to understand Isaiah.

We regret to see numerous errors in both the editions of the work before us. They occur in proper names, and in the Hebrew quoted. Some of the former are corrected in Mr.

Collins's cheap and excellent reprint; as, *e.g.*, where the American edition (on chap. vii. 1), has 'Uriah,' the reprint has, correctly, 'Uzziah.' It has, however, left some of the errors in the American edition uncorrected; as where, in chap. ix. 5, both read נָחֻם for נָחֻם. But it is only just to say, that we have detected no errors in either which need perplex any intelligent person; and that Mr. Collins is well entitled to the thanks of all biblical students, for the neat and convenient edition which he has published.

ART. VIII.—*The Wesleyan Times, July 1849 to April 1850.* London: John Kaye.

It is now nearly four years since there appeared in this journal a complete, though succinct, description of the Wesleyan-Methodist polity and institutions; the accuracy of which may be assumed, since it has in no one instance been called in question, although, besides its original publication, five editions of it in a separate form have been disposed of, and that, as we learn from our publishers, principally through the agency of the Conference Book-room. One reason of this success may be found in the fact, that, while exception was freely taken to some of the laws and usages of the Wesleyan body, its comelier parts received their due meed of commendation, and the expression of dissent or of censure was tempered with a studious care to avoid giving offence. Encouraged by this example, we shall, in the following statements and observations, scrupulously confine ourselves to what we know to be true and believe to be just, and shall conscientiously strive to be at the same time faithful to our own convictions, and charitable in the constructions we put upon conduct that we cannot approve. The facts related will be more perfectly understood after a reperusal of the paper above alluded to.*

The Wesleyan Connexion is now the scene of a struggle betwixt its clergy and its laity, which threatens to end either in reorganizing it upon sounder principles, or in rending it asunder. To the cursory observer, this great conflict seems to take its rise from the expulsion of the Revs. Messrs. Everett, Samuel Dunn,

* Methodism as it Is. Reprinted from the 'Eclectic Review,' August 1846. Fifth edition. London: Ward and Co.

and William Griffith, junior, at the Manchester Conference in August last. More diligent inquirers will be apt to refer it to the operation of the obnoxious rules which were promulgated by the Sheffield Conference in 1835. But, adequately to appreciate the present crisis, we must go back to the very origin of Methodism. The form which it took, so far as church discipline is concerned, is to be traced to the combined effect of several causes—to the peculiar character of John Wesley, to the wonderful amount of moral influence which he amassed, and to the prevailing rudeness of the materials with which he had to work. He was a ruler by nature, by consent, and by necessity. To an irrepressible love of sway, he sacrificed even his principles as a Churchman. But his ambition was so free from selfishness, and so evidently wedded to an insatiable thirst after the highest utility, that the most intelligent or most sensitive of his coadjutors never dreamed of questioning his supreme authority; while almost all his followers were found in that infant stage of moral development for which a paternal autocracy is the appropriate rule. To so wide a span was his life protracted, and with so blameless an integrity did he employ the sole power conceded to him, that, by unanimous consent, it remained in his hands after it had ceased, through the growth of intelligent piety, to be universally applicable to the societies which he had gathered. He was himself, however, the first to foresee, that the submission cheerfully yielded to him by both his helpers and his followers, would not so readily be given by the latter to the former, or by the former to any among themselves. How best to provide for the peaceful and prosperous perpetuity of his system, was the only question which clouded the sunset of his bright career; and he departed, leaving the difficult problem unsolved. He made stringent legal provision, it is true, for the exclusive occupation of Methodist pulpits by his associates and their successors, and for the preaching in them of no other doctrines than those which he had deduced from the New Testament in his published 'Notes,' and had expounded in his published 'Sermons,' thereby giving to the Wesleyan ministry a hierarchical form, and to the Wesleyan theology a stereotype character. But he left his people a society, and not a church. Though he had with equal audacity scorned canonical rule and usurped episcopal powers, even to the consecration of a bishop with his own presbyterial hands, he died avowing himself to be a true son of the Church of England; of which there was at least this proof, that to the last he refused either to sanction chapel service in church hours, or to allow his preachers to administer the sacraments. As for the future government of his Connexion, he could only caution his assistants against quarrelling among themselves, and

leave them to make the best use of his example and their own experience. Without committing ourselves to his opinions, we may venture to say that, had he been as free to consult the New Testament for his notions on church government, as he was for his doctrinal sentiments, the sequel of the history of Methodism would probably have been of a very different character. The members of the Methodist family might then have been as united in feeling as they are in opinion; for, whereas there have been numerous secessions, not one of them, it is observable, arose from doctrinal differences, but all from disputes respecting government. We must not anticipate, however.

The softening effect of their 'father's' decease kept the children at peace for a time; but, as it frequently happens in smaller families, they quarrelled over the will. The elements of disagreement soon showed themselves, the restraining influence of his presence withdrawn. Those preachers who found not their names among the enumerated Hundred in the 'Deed of Declaration,' as constituting 'the Conference of the people called Methodists,' were extremely jealous, if not positively envious. This disuniting feeling was partially allayed by the favoured Century adopting an institution to admit their prætermitted brethren to equal privileges—an act which could not possibly take full effect. It had this effect, however, that it promoted a common understanding among the preachers, who, with tacit consent, practically interpreted the legal instrument which strictly defined the powers of the Conference as extending only to the admission and expulsion of preachers and their appointment to the chapels, as though it had transferred to them all that authority in the government of themselves and of the people, which their founder had been accustomed to exercise without limit. These pretensions were no sooner put forth than they were resisted. Matters were further embroiled by specific questions. Should there or should there not be preaching in church hours? Should or should not the preachers be allowed to administer the divine ordinances of Baptism and the Lord's Supper? There were two classes among both clergy and laity—those who, from birth and education, and from other circumstances, had contracted a predilection for the Church of England; and those who, from similar causes, leaned towards Dissent. It was evident that many of Mr. Wesley's practices could be vindicated only upon Nonconformist principles,—a circumstance which rather enforced the demand for further innovations. On the other hand, there were not wanting Elishas upon whom the mantle of Mr. Wesley's Churchmanship, or, at least, a strong desire for it, had descended; and these, aided by the trustees of chapels in Bristol and other important places, made a stout fight for the 'old plan.' Though

eventually defeated in England, this party survives in Ireland, but in a separate form, under the name of Primitive Wesleyans, or Church Methodists. These Bristol trustees and their associates were the 'gentry' of early Methodism, who found it very convenient to aid Mr. Wesley in the erection of commodious chapels, where they might hear the kind of preaching which they preferred; while, living in large towns, they were seldom liable to be repelled by the clergy, when they approached the communion-table of the Established Church; and had, besides, more frequent opportunities than others of receiving the sacred elements from the authorised hands of the Wesleys, and their episcopally-ordained fellow-helpers. But the case was different with the mass of the Methodists, who were poor, uninfluential, despised, scattered, and exposed to all sorts of rebuffs from the coarse race of priests, who then, like 'boars out of the wood,' infested the rural districts. What more natural than that they should desire those ordinances which were contemptuously denied them by hirelings, from the good shepherds whose faithful preaching had been blessed to their conversion; or that these, in their turn, should deem themselves as competent to administer sacraments as to proclaim the gospel, and at least as well entitled to do either the one or the other as their sacerdotal despisers and persecutors?

No one can read the early records of Methodism without perceiving, in spite of studied attempts to conceal the fact, that the decision of the questions in debate was much influenced by the Dissenting tendencies which had begun to be developed. One admitted consequence of shutting the Methodist chapels during church hours, and of forbidding the preachers to celebrate the Lord's Supper, was, that the Methodist people, rather than accept the anti-evangelical ministrations of the parochial clergy, began to frequent the Independent and Baptist meeting-houses; and, probably, the danger on that side had nearly as much influence as any other consideration with the Conference, in yielding at length to the urgent demands of the people. With what hopeful feelings this decision was adopted, may be inferred from the title given to the consequent regulations,—namely, 'The P' of Pacification.' But the song of triumph was premature. No sooner had one bone of contention been disposed of, than other causes of irritation set up inflammatory action. The preachers, perhaps, imagined that they who deemed them qualified to administer sacred rites, would deny them no other priestly prerogative; but they were speedily given to understand, that they had already assumed a degree of power and authority which neither Scripture nor reason warranted. It has been insinuated, indeed, that the Methodist societies did not wholly escape the

contagious influence of the French Revolution ; and probably, even their quiescent simplicity may have been a little stirred by that immense excitement. Be this as it may, the agitation was too powerful to be withstood. In 1795, the Plan of Pacification was settled : in 1797, still further concessions were wrung from the Conference by the people. In the intervening year, the Rev. Alexander Kilham, the young, but energetic leader of the Reform movement, was expelled ; but that sacrifice, instead of deterring, only exasperated the Reformers ; and, although the act of excommunication was signalized by the simultaneous promulgation of a decree Hibernically menacing with a like fate any 'man or number of men' who, on any account or occasion, should circulate letters, call meetings, do or attempt to do anything *new*, till it had *first been appointed* by the Conference,' yet, that defiant conclave was, at its very next meeting, obliged to come to terms.

While rejecting, in every shape, the demand for the admission to a share in the supreme governing power of the people's representatives, the preachers agreed with the four-score delegates who attended, upon certain modifications respecting financial matters, the admission and expulsion of members, and the appointment of church-officers. The undoubted tendency of these alterations was, to abridge the overgrown tyranny of the preachers, and to place in the hands of the people, or, rather, in those of their brethren holding lay office, checks upon ministerial prerogative and assumption. But the new regulations had two incurable defects. They were at best a compromise of the scriptural rights of the whole church ; and they were conceded on the part of the clergy out of mere fear, and not in good faith. Now, it admits of serious question, whether the just application of primitive and apostolical principles of church-government is compatible with that connexional form of polity which it is the idiosyncrasy of Methodism to cherish. Ecclesiastical history, and not least the history of Methodism itself, is confirmatory of the proposition, that the Divine Head of the Church permits greater apparent prosperity to schemes of ecclesiastical arrangement founded avowedly upon the dictates of human wisdom, than to such as are submitted to or devised in a spirit of accommodation to supposed emergencies by men who profess to admit the paramount claims of inspired precept and example ; and, certainly, the culpability of deviation is in proportion to the light. The Conference was manifestly hampered by the politic desire to secure conflicting objects. They wished to appease the people, and prevent a secession, of which they had reason to be gravely apprehensive ; and they wished also to maintain unimpaired the substance of their power.

In this dilemma, they skilfully exaggerated the small concessions which they had made, pompously representing them as 'sacrifices of authority on the part of the whole body of travelling preachers,' which involved the transfer of 'the greater portion of the executive government to the people as represented in their different public meetings.' The concessions, magnified by this flaming description, were eagerly accepted by the majority of the dissatisfied, who neither perceived, on the one hand, that they had no more warrant from Scripture to throw themselves and their church affairs into the hands of leaders' and quarterly meetings composed of lay officers, than into those of district meetings and conferences composed of travelling preachers; nor reflected, on the other, that, so long as a conference consisting exclusively of preachers, with the power to station each other where they listed, should remain at the head of the Connexion, no concessions, how promising soever, could at any time be secure. With some thousands, nevertheless, a division of the supreme power between the preachers and the representatives of the people was a condition *sine quâ non*; and these, seceding, with Mr. Kilham and three other ministers at their head, formed the Methodist New Connexion; basing it upon their cherished principle, though curtailing, as to the affairs of individual churches, the rights of the people, in subordination to imaginary connexional exigencies. This body can boast of possessing several ministers of talent, some large chapels, and a few flourishing societies; but, judging from the results of half a century, it has little expansive force, and would probably be more conformable to the principles on which it seceded, and likewise more useful in the church and in the world, were its component parts resolved into a number of independent communities.

The loss of five thousand members and four ministers, within seven years after Mr. Wesley's death, joined to the consciousness that a still larger number had with difficulty been induced to remain, appears to have had a salutary effect upon the Conference, and to have prompted the preachers to cultivate the goodwill of their flocks, by a mild exercise of discipline and a diligent performance of their pastoral duties. We can testify, from actual and extensive knowledge, that it is not possible to conceive of a body of Christian ministers living more completely in the affections of their people, than did the Wesleyan ministers during the first quarter of the present century. It was the golden age of Methodism—the period in which its ministry displayed the most ardent zeal, the most distinguished pulpit talent, the ripest scholarship, and the most enduring literature—the period in which, above all, while rapidly covering England

with their sanctuaries, they sent forth their missionaries to both the Indies, and laid the foundations of that great society which has now its agents of mercy in every quarter of the globe, on every continent and in every archipelago. Their foes no longer they of their own household, the only war they had to wage was one of defence against the external assailants of their doctrinal orthodoxy; except, indeed, their common share with other evangelical Dissenters in the sneers of the 'Edinburgh' and the scoffs of the 'Anti-Jacobin,' and in the triumphant resistance to Lord Sidmouth's execrable bill.

But success brings a snare, escape from which is vouchsafed to very few. The Wesleyan leaders fell into the gin. In other words, losing their humility and simplicity, they began to take a pride in the influence and respectability of their body; and, not satisfied with having lived down the contempt and frowns of the world, suffered themselves to be betrayed into the fatal error of copying its maxims and courting its admiration. To this source are to be traced the several outbreaks and secessions which have rendered the second quarter of the present century as warlike and disastrous as the first quarter was tranquil and auspicious. Nay, before the middle of the half-century had been reached, the rise of the Primitive Methodists in the Midland Counties and of the Bible Christians in the West of England—denominations now numbering respectively 95,557 and 14,206 members—emphatically proclaimed the fact, that a spirit of worldliness had gained possession of the parent sect. Upon a larger scale and with a different aim, but impelled probably by a similar feeling, the wealthier portion of the laity played over again the selfish game of the Bristol trustees in the contests preceding 1795. The great majority of the Methodist people, even in the largest cities and towns, remained poor and prayerful, simple-minded, and concerned only for their own salvation and that of others; but the wealthy few, especially in the chief emporiums of our woollen, cotton, and iron manufactures, conceived a disgust for the unadorned nakedness of original Methodism; and, having first assimilated themselves to the world in personal attire and style of living, sighed for the introduction into the house of God of embellishments and luxuries in better keeping with the costly *ménage* of their domestic establishments. Methodism, they insisted, should be churchified; chapel interiors should be elegantly decorated; swelling organs should supersede the grating sound of untutored voices; the measured responses of the Litany should rebuke the irregular outbursts of genuine devotion; and, perchance, the gown and the surplice give dignity to a class of ministers rarely exhibiting, it may be confessed, much 'outward and visible sign of an inward and spiritual grace.'

Unfortunately, the preachers, or at least the influential part of them, sided this time with the proud few against the lowly many; preferred obliging the comparatively small number at whose tables they were sumptuously feasted, to respecting the scruples of the multitude who could offer them but homely fare; remembered too well the pounds which gilded the glittering tops of their subscription lists, and forgot too soon the pence that formed the broad and solid basis of their institutions. The consequence was, dissatisfaction, repression, secession. At first, indeed, some caution was observed. The taste for fine chapels, being the vulgarest of the new desires, met with the least resistance, and was indulged with vehemence, till the question how the toys were to be paid for began to press; but, with some millions of debt upon their shoulders, the Wesleyans, like other people, have learned the purer taste which consists with economy. To organs, however, there was much objection. The late Dr. Adam Clarke, and many other ministers of eminence, had a strong dislike not merely of instruments of music, but even of choirs, in public worship, and induced the Conference to record its opinion in approval of pure congregational singing, and in special condemnation of organs and other instruments. Confident, however, in the influence of wealth, the churchifiers persevered, and soon found the means of getting the thin end of the wedge inserted in their favour. One or two organs having been occasionally built contrary to law, the Conference was artfully moved to reiterate its rule against them, with the nullifying addition, that, in future, no organ should on any account be introduced without the previous consent of the District Meeting. In this graceful manner did the Conference leap over from decided condemnation of organs, to inviting applications for special license to erect them. Affairs proceeded peacefully, however, until the rich people worshipping in Brunswick Chapel, Leeds, evinced a wish to set up an organ in that spacious edifice. Nowhere else could the proposal have been more distasteful, because in no urban population had the Methodists retained more of their original simplicity than in Leeds. But the selfish few who contemplated the innovation had the ear of the higher powers; and they, with a fatal preference, disregarded all remonstrance, to gratify their friends. Application was made, in the first instance, to the District Meeting, whose consent was judiciously refused, in deference to the strong feeling against the measure; but the defeated party, well knowing where their strength lay, applied to the Conference, and he to whom that assembly durst refuse nothing, obtained a vote for the handful of rich men, whom, according to his wont, he was willing to oblige even at the risk of destroying the very metropolis of Methodism.

The erection of the organ was immediately begun. The objectors, hurt and surprised, called meetings to consider what could be done to prevent what they so much deprecated; but no attention was paid by the preachers to their new remonstrances. On the contrary, some of them were summoned before a Special District Meeting, to which had been invited influential preachers from distant parts, and they were charged with attending unlawful meetings. The majority of the leaders being in favour of the accused brethren, the preachers introduced a written test, drawn up by themselves, to be approved of, and signed by the lay officers present; intending to deprive those who should refuse of their right to vote on the trial of their brethren. Many, despising this arbitrary conduct, did refuse. The preachers then, with those partizans who had attached their names, proceeded to find the accused persons guilty; and they were at once degraded from their offices and expelled from the Connexion. These violent measures were so offensive to the people, that upwards of a thousand members left the society, including not a few men of remarkable talents and piety, whose names have acquired historic importance in the local annals of Methodism. The seceders assumed the denomination of 'Protestant Methodists,' and found sympathy in many parts of the kingdom, but especially in Southwark, where the leading persons in the circuit identified themselves with an able vindication of their Leeds brethren, drawn up by an eminent solicitor. The Conference, no doubt, was easily persuaded to adopt the acts of the Special District Meeting, which, indeed, had proceeded under the immediate advice of Dr. Bunting; yet no successful effort was made to disprove the position, that the whole business was a faithless violation of the solemn compact of 1797; although Richard Watson did not disdain to prostitute his rare talents to the servile purpose, and even Daniel Isaac, under some powerful fascination, was tempted to throw away a life-long reputation for manly independence in the vain and pitiful attempt. This bold and reckless supersession of the covenant of 1797, took place in 1827; but its formal annulment was, with discreet delay, postponed to a more convenient opportunity. The 'Protestants' continued their protest, and met with some support in various places; but many who had taken the alarm at the harsh treatment which they had received, not sufficiently appreciating the principles which were at stake, were soothed into passiveness, and clove to their old associations in the delusive confidence that this was too great an atrocity to be repeated. When Robert Hall was travelling with some other ministers to a county association, the coach on which they had the misfortune to be seated was upset; but no sooner had it been placed erect again,

than the illustrious preacher, who, with his companions, had escaped serious damage, mounted to the roof. 'Mr. Hall! Mr. Hall!' cried one of the brethren, more frightened than hurt, 'how *can* you think of getting up again?' 'Oh! come up, come up, brother!' replied he; 'it will be a long time before another upset!' The trustful Wesleyans made the same sanguine calculation; but these things depend upon the discretion of the driver.

To thoughtful minds it had now become evident, that the leading men in the Conference were not merely disposed to oblige the rich few at the risk of offending the many, but that something like a tacit compact had been formed, according to which the dominant preachers were to be supported in making that body the instrument of a stern spiritual despotism, on condition of recognising, in a certain class of pecuniary contributors, a lay aristocracy, to whom official distinction should be awarded, and whose wishes, when unitedly conveyed, should have priority of consideration, and, perchance, even the force of commands. 'Before the desperate and successful attacks upon the people's liberties were made, in 1835,' says Mr. Cropp, in his 'Objections to Modern Methodism,' 'the pulse of this limb of the body was carefully felt; and it was found to beat well for the preachers. One of them publicly made his boast, that, at a small meeting got up for that purpose, there were individuals present whose united property was known to be upwards of four millions sterling; and, strong in this strength, he declared—"We have taken our stand: we are determined to bring down all who may dare to oppose us in our government of the Connexion." The reply to this observation was, "You must first destroy the rights of the leaders' meetings." "We will manage that," was the answer of one who, a few years before, had been the President of the Conference; "we have got the power, and we are determined to use it." All this, however, was stealthily gone about. The principles upon which the Leeds dispute was decided, received the Conference seal, and were duly recorded; but they were not paraded for immediate use. From that inception, nevertheless, a gradual revolution was set on foot. The superintendents, in the exercise of their nominating power, quietly brought forward, as candidates for lay office, individuals who could be confided in as 'Conference men,' or as of a pliant temper; and thus they filled the leaders' and quarterly meetings with persons who, in any emergency, would either zealously do their bidding, or, at least, throw no obstructions in the path of their tyranny and ambition. Side by side with these objects, proceeded the aim, mutual to the oligarchs and the aristocrats of the Connexion, to aggrandize it in the eyes of men. The junior

ministers were too raw and rude to satisfy the fastidious gentry ; and the despotic enterprise of the hierarchs demanded a race of men well initiated into the art of governing according to the new method. Both aims were plausibly disguised beneath the laudable design to provide a better training for the rising ministry. On the principle of Sempronius, that conspiracies should be no sooner formed than executed, the intention to establish a theological institution was announced, and, without waiting for the connexional opinion, put in execution. Remonstrance was loud and general, but useless. It had been well ascertained that the needful resources would be forthcoming ; and the projectors could afford, they thought, to defy opposition. Not that the remonstrants objected to an educated ministry ; for no men had been more popular than their most learned ministers ; such, for example, as Dr. Adam Clarke, and his brother commentator, Mr. Joseph Benson, the Richard Baxter of Methodism. They complained that the rule which required a year's notice before taking a step so important, had been disregarded ; and, that having been done, they suspected, not unreasonably, as events have proved, that the training of a race of arbitrary rulers was as much the object as an improved theological education.

In support of this opinion, we may refer to an ' Essay on the Pastoral Office,' published in the ' Methodist Magazine,' for which the Conference passed a vote of thanks to the editor. ' Christ,' says the writer, ' has empowered the ministers of the gospel to govern or regulate the church by salutary discipline ; he has committed to them the keys of the church. In every section of the church of Christ, the pastor must bear the keys, or he is not the pastor of Christ's own making. It is for the ministers of Christ, the pastors of the church, to reprove, rebuke, with all authority, admonish, warn, and, finally, when *they* judge necessary, to reject offenders from church communion. Jesus Christ has not empowered the church to interfere with his ministers in the use of his keys.'

Among those who took a lead in the general remonstrance raised by this new stride towards ' respectability' and priestly domination, were Dr. Warren and Mr. Eckett. The Doctor limited his hostility to the particular question, and was met with imputations of personal pique, as a discountenanced candidate for the professor's chair, followed with suspension by the vote of a District Meeting, and eventual expulsion by the Conference. To the charge of disappointed ambition, his subsequent erratic conduct, and ultimate subsidence into an obscure clergyman of the Established Church whom nobody cares to hear, gave considerable colour of truth ; but his temporary identification with a great principle, joined to the harsh treatment which he received

from his brethren, rallied around him all classes of the dissatisfied, and, in the first instance, gave the name of 'Warrenites' to the twenty thousand persons who at this time were either ruthlessly expelled, or driven by disgust into secession. Mr. Eckett, however, may more justly be regarded as the leader of the party who eventually resolved themselves into the Wesleyan-Methodist Association. This gentleman, a careful student of Methodist legislation and an attentive observer of the occurrences of 1827, took a much broader view of the question at issue between the Conference and his brethren than any other conspicuous objector, and, by irrefragable argument, convicted the Conference of 1835 of a breach of covenant with the people. Of this, indeed, the manner of his own expulsion, like that of hundreds of others, afforded undeniable proof; but it was in the 'Minutes' of that year that he found, under pretence of explanation, confirmation, and extension of existing popular rights, an insidious repeal of every valuable concession made in 1795 and 1797, and a treacherous imposition of new and unheard of fetters, restrictions, and impediments, touching the scriptural rights of the people. Appropriately to crown this nefarious transaction, the preacher whose name closes the signatures to the Declaration of 1797,— 'We do now voluntarily, and in good faith, sign our names as approving of, and engaging to comply with, the aforesaid collection of rules, or code of laws, God being our helper,'—was the very man whose signature, as President in 1835, ratified the regulations by which the laws thus solemnly guaranteed were formally and finally annulled!

Strange to say, although these later enactments were so fully and clearly exposed, although they led to a secession more numerous and extensive than all previous secessions put together, and although they made the people slaves to the Conference, and the preachers spies on each other, they were tacitly acquiesced in by the uninquiring multitude, who were persuaded to regard the secession as a deliverance, and to expect, in consequence, unexampled peace and prosperity. Among them, however, were many far-sighted men, who, rightly judging that secession was a bounty upon tyranny, contented themselves for the present with a protest more or less explicit against the encroachments and usurpations of the party in power, and retained their places in the reasonable hope that a more formidable opportunity for the vindication of right principles would, in process of time, occur. In spite of occasional appearances to the contrary, the tranquillity which was predicted as certain to supervene upon the wholesale exclusions of 1835, has not been realized. The cat-like cunning wherewith the new laws were put in seeming abeyance, failed to lull asleep the jealousy and suspicion which

the outrages preceding and following their enactment had so profoundly excited ; or any such tendency was effectually counteracted by the steady advances of the hierarchical and aristocratic magnates on the road of secular ambition. Every available pretext was eagerly seized upon to set the Wesleyans before the Established clergy in advantageous contrast with other evangelical Dissenters, and to parade them in the public view as the sworn allies of Conservatism ; and year after year, to the present time, the chair of the Wesleyan Missionary Society has been adroitly filled with some public man who conveniently represented a political idea. The same aggrandizing policy continued to sway the internal administration of the Connexion. The first Conference ever held in Birmingham (1836), was selected for the adoption of a ceremonial of ordination, half Episcopal, half Presbyterian, theretofore confined to candidates for foreign missionary labour ; and the immense contributions of money which signalized the Centenary of Methodism (thanks to Dr. Harris's stimulating essay on 'Mammon'), were confessedly devoted to the erection of 'monumental' edifices, such as the Centenary Hall in Bishopsgate-street and the College at Richmond, adapted to impress the public with the greatness to which 'our body' had attained.

Meanwhile, offices of permanent trust, if not of large emolument, had been studiously multiplied, so as to provide for the retention, in the Metropolis and its immediate vicinity, of the small, but compact party of preachers who had contrived to usurp the dominion over their brethren, and who, with their astute leader at their head, have, by various manœuvres, arrogated to themselves a power, during the intervals between one Conference and another, paramount, at least in practice, to the omnipotence of that assembly. These daring encroachments, and the abuses which they naturally bred, were viewed with as much dissatisfaction, and with even greater jealousy, by many of the preachers, than by the people. Men of talent joined with spirit and independence, saw themselves debarred from all distinction, because their subserviency to the designs of a party and subordination to an imperious chief, could not be surely reckoned upon. So strong, however, was that party in the purses of its millionaire supporters, and in the servile hopes and fears of the *οἱ πολλοὶ* of the Conference, that open opposition involved certain persecution, insatiable revenge, and permanent degradation. There seemed no alternative, therefore, but silent submission or secret war. Hence, the celebrated 'Fly-sheets,' which appeared at long intervals, purporting to emanate from a committee of preachers, stationed in various parts of the kingdom, denouncing in unsparing terms the abuses fostered by the dominant party,

and claiming rectification and redress in the name of both preachers and people. It is abundantly manifest, however, that the writers of those sheets, whoever they may be, have far more sympathy with their own order than with the laity; disclosing, as they do, in nearly every page, palpable evidence of personal pique, and of the envious feelings with which men in office are usually viewed by men in opposition. Candour bids us add, that they are disfigured with scandalous imputations and uncharitable surmises, affecting individuals, which ought not to have found a place in documents of a public nature, especially if anonymous. It may seem cheap courage in a stranger, himself anonymous, to say, that another course ought to have been pursued; yet, we take leave to doubt, whether either the certain consequences of an undisguised declaration of hostility, or the plea that these sheets were circulated among the preachers exclusively, justifies, or even excuses, the absence of the writers' names. No man needs to be ashamed, and no man ought to be afraid, to avouch what conscience impels him to declare. It is obvious, moreover, that, had the writers of the 'Fly-sheets' spoken their real sentiments from their places in the Conference, they would have omitted many statements, personally offensive, which, under cover of secrecy, they have been tempted to make, and would thus, whatever might have become of themselves, have rendered a service to their cause unbalanced by so serious a drawback.

But it is useless to lament an irretrievable mistake. These anonymous missiles, right or wrong, have the credit of precipitating the existing struggle. While they circulated among the preachers only, it was deemed good policy to disregard them; but when, by degrees, they began to be the common talk of Methodist tea-tables, the party assailed vowed vengeance against the hidden authors, and set on foot a characteristic machinery for their discovery. This consisted of a short declaration, utterly disavowing all connexion with the obnoxious productions; which declaration every travelling preacher was called upon to sign, with the alternative of being suspected if he refused. The majority appended their names with the greatest alacrity; but, by-and-by the subscription began to flag, and several years elapsed before the reluctance of independent men could be so far overcome as to reduce the range of suspicion within a manageable compass. Some dozens, it is consoling to be assured, could by no means be induced to degrade themselves. Meantime, suspicion pointed the finger at several individuals; one being betrayed by supposed peculiarities of style, and another by the perfidy of a false friend. Who can forbear from declaring, that the Wesleyan Conference covered itself with infamy, when it not only received, as evidence against the Rev. Daniel Walton,

the testimony of a brother minister, who, admitted in the confidence of friendship to his study, had availed himself of his temporary absence to master the contents of a private memorandum,—but also eulogized his treachery, and rewarded it with one of the best appointments in the kingdom! The Rev. James Everett was the individual most vehemently suspected, but on no other or better ground than was furnished by imagined resemblances of style. Summoned before the Manchester Conference in August last, he was put to the question; and, refusing to answer, though ready to defend himself, was, without accusation, proof, or trial, then and there expelled, and deprived of his income. Messrs. Dunn and Griffith, though less suspected, if suspected at all, shared the same fate; partly because they would not reply to what they deemed an inquisitorial question, and partly because they would not pledge themselves to cease corresponding with a newspaper obnoxious to their interrogators. Others, not a whit more pliant, escaped with degradation and censure; but Mr. Bromley, then dismissed as impracticable, has since been placed under suspension by the District Meeting, and will probably be expelled at the approaching Conference.

These four ministers are, by the necessity of circumstances, the ostensible leaders of the present movement. It is doing Messrs. Everett and Dunn no injustice, to express a doubt whether either of them can be regarded as a radical reformer. The former is a man of great talents, and of excellent character; but, in his opposition, he seems to have been actuated by antipathy to the ruling party, more than by sympathy with the people. One of his acknowledged writings contains express, and even cordial approval of the very law by reference to which the proceedings connected with his own expulsion are justified. Mr. Dunn, indeed, is able to affirm, that, on the enactment of that law in 1835, he was the only man who in the Conference protested against it; but this respectable theologian and zealous minister confined his protest to that portion of the law which warrants the summary institution of an inquisitorial process against any preacher, and never, before it was used against himself, objected to those portions which are yet more despotic in their aspect towards the laity. Mr. Bromley, a man of elegant tastes and refined manners, somewhat given in earlier years to metaphysical subtilties, is in a peculiar position with respect to the modern enactment,—inasmuch as it seemed to have been suggested in part by the bold stand which he made in the case of Dr. Warren; but we are not aware that even he, though he has constantly denounced the law as one ‘steeped in apostacy and unbelief,’ ever meant his denunciation to fall upon the clauses the rigour of which menaces persons not in

the ministry. Not to be too minute for the patience of our readers, suffice it to state, that these three gentlemen had, throughout their whole ministerial career, been obnoxious to the dominant party, by reason of their proneness to freedom of biblical investigation, than which no tendency is more jealously restrained; and also of their undisguised admiration for Dr. Adam Clarke, who, though the most distinguished ornament of the Connexion, was branded as a heretic, ostensibly on account of his denial of the Eternal Sonship of Christ, but really because he had set so conspicuous an example of independent theological inquiry. Since their expulsion (for that of Mr. Bromley may be counted as certain, though not finally pronounced), these gentlemen may have convinced themselves that the people require redress as well as the preachers; and probably they, with a number of their brethren still in communion with the Conference, would be found ready to advocate a return to the broken covenant of 1795 and 1797. But, so far as we know, Mr. Griffith is the only one of the four, who has hitherto publicly and fully committed himself to the cause of the people. This gentleman has youth on his side, a sound mind in a sound body, a liberal education, various knowledge, decided talent for popular address, and indomitable courage, united with singleness of purpose and gentleness of disposition. His very adversaries give him credit for sincerity and good intentions, although they abhor his views as dangerously extreme. The truth is, that he is a thorough liberal in Church and State, and quite abreast of the most advanced class of Methodist Reformers; as was evinced by his being the first to declare openly for what he had probably long desired in secret—the introduction into the Conference of an adequate representation of the laity.

In one important respect, however, no distinction can with propriety be made among these gentlemen, who, ever since their expulsion, have vied with each other in efforts to make the Methodist people understand and feel by what an unmitigated despotism their denomination is oppressed. For this purpose, they have held crowded meetings in all parts of the country; and the weekly columns of the 'Wesleyan Times' have borne ample witness to their success. That journal, whose unexampled circulation attests the vast extent of the excitement, is constantly crowded with the sympathizing resolutions of large bodies of the people, subscribed with long lists of official men. Now, when these proceedings gave promise of a general demand for the re-instatement of the expelled ministers, the repeal of the entire law of 1835, the introduction of lay-delegates into the Conference and District Meetings, and for many subordinate reforms, the President of the Conference, acting, it is presumed, under the

advice of his irresponsible counsellors, flung defiance in the face of the remonstrants; sending forth for signature by the travelling preachers, a Declaration branding the expelled ministers as revolutionary disturbers, pronouncing their restoration impossible, and putting an inexorable negative upon every demand foreseen as likely to be made at the ensuing Conference. A fiercer anathema, a more arrogant bull, was never fulminated from the Vatican in the palmy days of the Pontificate. Judge, reader, of the prostrate condition of the preachers themselves, when you are told, that, in a few weeks, considerably more than twelve hundred of these servile men, leaving a very small remnant who have not bowed the knee to Baal, had, by sending in their names, precluded the possibility of opening their lips even as mediators, at their next annual assembly, whatever by that time may be the torn and inflamed state of their miserable Connexion.

This haughty and unconstitutional demonstration, as impolitic and unwise as it was haughty and unconstitutional, did but inspire the people with fresh courage and determination; and it was followed, at no long interval, by the aggregate meeting of their delegates in Albion Chapel, Moorfields. Having been present at some of the sittings, we can bear witness to the piety, good temper, moderation, and intelligence, distinguishing their deliberations. Many gentlemen of fine talents, and possessing extensive information, mingled in the debates; and it was plain that the cause of reform would be in no lack of able and judicious leaders. The large sprinkling of hoary-headed fathers, insuring to this unique assembly the benefits of wisdom and experience, afforded also a strong presumption that this was not an expression of opinions of yesterday. Not a few of the delegates avowed themselves to be reformers of 1835, who had thus patiently waited for a time of greater promise. The most pleasing feature to a sympathizing spectator, as well as the most hopeful sign for the actors themselves, was, the prominence given to Our Lord as the sole legislator of the church, and to the New Testament as its only statute-book. Here, whatever may be the terms demanded of the Conference, and whatever the impediments to their attainment,—here, we say, is proof, that the Methodist Reformers are upon the track which must eventually conduct them to full Christian enfranchisement.

Meanwhile, they have agreed upon their 'Bill of Rights.' They have resolved to require the election of all officers by the whole church, to take the admission and expulsion of members out of the exclusive jurisdiction of the preachers, to insist upon local independence, to have a revision of all the laws and institutions of the body under the joint authority of preachers and people, and generally to divide administrative and legislative

functions between the clergy and the laity. These demands, imbodyed in a suitable form, are to be circulated for adoption; and it remains to be seen, how many of the half-million of Wesleyans will subscribe them before August next, when the Conference of preachers and the delegates of the people will simultaneously assemble in this great Metropolis.

In what light the matter is viewed by the dominant party, is but too clear. The President rudely refused to receive a deputation from the delegates; and throughout the length and breadth of Methodism, no whisper of mediation has been heard. On the contrary, contempt and scorn are poured upon the delegates and their constituents. 'The meeting in Moorgate,' says a periodical accredited by the Conference authorities, and avowedly edited by the President's brother, 'set forth as a great fact, is in reality a great falsehood.' Mr. Cozens Hardy, a respectable magistrate of Norfolk, is roundly charged with 'telling a direct falsehood concerning the President;' and Mr. Harrison, the expelled editor of the 'Wesleyan Times,' with having 'spoken what he must have known is untrue;' while a third gentleman who had used the words *sine quâ non*, is sneered at as 'wishing to have it supposed that he understands Latin.' So much for 'an exposure of the false character, absurd proposals, and disorderly proceedings of the pretended delegate meeting,' from the pen of an ex-President, which is strongly recommended as worthy of being read by every Wesleyan. In precise accordance with the tone of this courteous writer, is the conduct pursued by the preachers in all parts of the country. The delegates are threatened with universal expulsion; nay, with regard to many of them, that threat has already been remorselessly executed. Every case in which this is effected, however, whether through the subserviency of pliant leaders' meetings, or, as not unfrequently happens, by the mere act of an unscrupulous superintendent, constitutes a new weapon to be wielded against the dominant party, who, without irreverence, may be affirmed to be 'treasuring up wrath against the day of wrath and righteous indignation, which shall devour the adversaries.'

The length to which this narrative has extended, precludes indulgence in those remarks which the facts are so fertile in suggesting. But such facts are their own commentary. 'The fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth are set on edge.' The Methodists of the present day are reaping the bitter fruits of the blind confidence or the unpardonable apathy of their precursors. As for the preachers, with the tenacity of a death-grasp, but also with its hopelessness, they are holding fast by 'the traditions of the elders.' The Conference, it is easy to see, is in possession of a masonic secret, handed

down from generation to generation ; but equally evident is it, that the arcanum has been penetrated. Henceforth, there can be no disguise. The veil is torn away, and the naked deformity of the system is fully disclosed. Like vice, the creature is ' of such hideous mien, that, to be hated, needs but to be seen.' It may writhe with rage, glare with malignity, and scream with revenge ; but its death-throes will inspire joy, not dread. The moral atmosphere refuses longer to sustain the respiration of priestcraft ; and he who in these days dreams of setting up a second Rome, is more ridiculous than the poor Pope himself.

ART. IX.—*On the Causes of the Success of the English Revolution of 1640—1688. A Discourse, designed as an Introduction to the History of the Reign of Charles I.* By M. Guizot. 8vo. Pp. 138. London : J. Murray.

THE Minister of Louis Philippe is not precisely the man to do justice to the English Revolution. His policy, as a statesman, was so opposed to the popular sympathies and large patriotism of the leaders of the Long Parliament, that it would be absurd to expect him to appreciate their deeds, or to render due honour to their virtues. The man who suppressed freedom of speech, and sought to establish the rule of force, cannot regard with favour the parliamentary or military opposition which was offered to the tyranny of the Stuarts. We confess to this feeling on taking up the volume before us, and it induced a mistrust which has not been wholly removed by the perusal of it. The book, however, is somewhat different from what we had anticipated. It is in literature what the author's course was in politics. Patriots are named with honour ; the freedom of parliament, and the rights of the community are referred to with respect ; and yet the impression left is equivocal ; and many royalist readers, we doubt not, will use it as their text-book, when discoursing on the duty of obedience, and the evils of resistance to constituted authority. As in his statesmanship, a heartless tyranny was sought to be veiled under the forms of a constitutional monarchy, so in his literary labours he can speak well of departed worthies, though his spirit and principles are opposed to their labours.

But the present position of M. Guizot is as infelicitous as his

past career has been unpromising. If there be one thing more essential than another to the fidelity of history, it is, that it should be free from the political passions of the hour. A calm, searching, impartial scrutiny of the past, cannot be conducted in the presence and amidst the disturbing influences of party politics. The functions of the judge are not to be harmonized with those of the advocate. Any attempt to combine them must prejudice the integrity of the former, and would be adapted to bring into doubt both the impartiality and the soundness of his judgments. The human mind is too deeply interested in what relates to its own pursuits, to be enabled to review with indifference the actions of men whose career and general policy are, in some respects, analogous to its own. Its decisions are swayed by favour or aversion, according as it regards such career as reflecting discredit or honour on itself. It does not pronounce judgment on the historical record simply, but views that record through the medium of its own interests, and is, consequently, biassed in the decision at which it arrives. Now it is impossible to evade the impression of there being something of this kind in the volume before us. The work is at once political and historical, a disquisition and a narrative. In form it is the latter, but in spirit and intention it is the former. This is clearly indicated in the latter part of the work, in which the author tells us: 'The two political changes effected by the Revolution of 1688 are the most popular to be found in history; it proclaimed and guaranteed, on the one hand, the essential rights common to all citizens, and on the other, the active and effectual participation of the country in its own government. A people so ignorant of its highest interests, as not to know that this is all which it needs, or ought to demand, will never be able to found a government or to maintain its liberties.' We very much doubt whether M. Guizot, in the preparation of this work, had not more respect to French politics than to English history. His object, we suspect, was to read a lecture on the former rather than to detail the course of the latter;—to alarm by the apprehension of impending dangers, more than to instruct by unfolding the facts and principles of our history:—

'The success,' says M. Guizot, 'by which the English Revolution was crowned has not only been permanent, but has borne a double fruit: its authors founded Constitutional Monarchy in England; and in America, their descendants founded the Republic of the United States. These great events are now completely known and understood; time, which has given them its sanction, has also shed over them its light. Sixty years ago France entered on the path opened by England, and Europe lately rushed headlong in the same direction. It is my purpose to show what are the causes which have crowned constitutional

monarchy in England, and republican government in the United States, with that solid and lasting success which France and the rest of Europe are still vainly pursuing, through those mysterious trials and revolutionary struggles, which, according as they are well or ill passed through, elevate or pervert a nation for ages.'—P. 1.

The last sentence of the volume might appropriately have been taken as a motto for the whole, and its relevancy to M. Guizot's design is too obvious to need elucidation. 'The policy,' he says, 'which preserves a state from violent revolutions, is also the only policy which can bring a revolution to a successful close.'

The considerations we have stated prevent our regarding this work as strictly historical, yet it has its value, and that value is not inconsiderable. It is the production of one of the ablest men of the day, whose researches have long been directed to this portion of our history, and whose acquirements and past career eminently fit him for the detection of false pretensions, and the exposure of whatever is unreal and fictitious in the language or policy of popular leaders. Few men are better acquainted than M. Guizot with the condition of English society during the reign of the Stuarts, the views of the parties then in collision, or the influences, whether primary or secondary, by which they were respectively aided. Whatever admissions, therefore, are made in favour of the popular leaders, may be set down to the force of evidence; while the beauty of many of his sketches, and the general accuracy of his outline, render the volume one of the most pleasing which an intelligent man can read. It is at once clear, calm, and dignified; reading—thanks to Mrs. Austin—with all the ease of an original, and conveying to us the latest views of a foreign Statesman on our domestic history. But it is time that we enable our readers to judge for themselves, by furnishing some specimens of the work.

The English revolution, as M. Guizot well remarks, was distinguished alike from the German revolution of the sixteenth century, and from the French of the eighteenth. The former was religious, the latter political. In the one case God's truth respecting the human soul was proclaimed, and in the other man's rights were asserted against the corrupt and effete despotism of a privileged class. In the case of our own revolution the religious and political elements were combined, and hence resulted its unique character and marvellous issue. 'All the great passions of the human soul were thus excited and brought into action, while some of the most powerful restraints by which they are controlled remained unbroken; and the hopes and aspirations of eternity remained to console and tranquillize those whose earthly hopes and ambitions had suffered shipwreck.'

For a time this union was incomplete. The patriot mistrusted

the Puritan; the reformer did not sympathize with the schismatic. The two parties acted concurrently up to a certain point, as they were alike opposed to the despotism of Strafford and the bigotry of Laud. But beyond this point there was no confidence, and could Essex and the men of his class have compassed their object, without giving scope to the religious element, they would gladly have done so. It was then, as it is now, when the Radicals, and even the so-called 'people's party,' refuse to identify themselves with the assertion of God's truth and the vindication of his Church. Cromwell perceived the want of his day, but even his master-spirit would probably have failed to supply it, had not the Parliamentary forces proved inferior to those of the king.

The character of Charles I., and the unanimity with which all parties united, in 1640, in opposition to his government, are thus described:—

'In England the royal power was the aggressor. Charles I., full of haughty pretensions, though devoid of elevated ambition, and moved rather by the desire of not derogating in the eyes of the kings, his peers, than by that of ruling with a strong hand over his people, twice attempted to introduce into the country the maxims and the practice of absolute monarchy: the first time, in presence of Parliament, at the instigation of a vain and frivolous favourite, whose presumptuous incapacity shocked the good sense and wounded the self-respect of the humblest citizen: the second time, by dispensing with Parliament altogether, and ruling alone by the hand of a minister, able and energetic, ambitious and imperious, though not without greatness of mind, devoted to his master, by whom he was imperfectly understood and ill supported, and aware too late that kings are not to be saved solely by incurring ruin, however nobly, in their service.

'To check this aggressive despotism, more enterprising than energetic, and assailing equally, in Church and State, the ancient rights and recent franchises to which the country laid claim, the mind of the people of England did not go beyond legal resistance, and this they entrusted to the hands of their representatives in Parliament. The resistance was as unanimous as it was legitimate. Men the most unlike in origin and character, the great nobles, gentlemen, and citizens, those attached to the court, and those the most remote from its influence, the friends and the enemies of the Established Church, all rose with common accord against this accumulated mass of grievances and abuses; and the abuses were overthrown, and the grievances vanished, as the old walls of a deserted citadel crumble at the first stroke of its assailants.'—Pp. 5, 6.

M. Guizot has fallen into a singular inaccuracy at the commencement of his work, in representing the Parliament (p. 8) as acting under the compulsion of the army before an appeal had been made to arms; and prior, therefore, to the existence of a

Parliamentary soldiery. It is difficult to account for this error on any other supposition than mere carelessness, as the context sufficiently discloses the real state of things. We refer to it only as one of the evils incident to the sketchy and graphic style in which French writers are disposed to indulge.

It is obvious, on the most cursory inspection, that towards the middle of the seventeenth century our countrymen had outgrown the forms of their constitution, or rather the spirit of their government. The wealth and knowledge of the middle class had vastly increased. Commercial enterprise and religious zeal had produced their natural fruits, and the growth of towns, and the riches accumulated by many burgesses, began to tell on the temper of parliaments, and to forewarn the ruling powers of a new and potent element which was coming into operation amongst the people. 'It was observed with surprise,' says our author, 'in one of the first parliaments in the reign of Charles I., that the House of Commons was three times as rich as the House of Lords.' Now it was an ominous circumstance for the monarchy that at such a time, and in the midst of such a process, an attempt should be made to revive the worst pretensions of the Crown, and to supersede the most cherished defences of popular freedom. This, however, was the case. Charles went beyond all his predecessors, at a period when the utmost prudence was required to guard even the least exceptionable right of the Crown. With an infatuation for which it is difficult to account, he not only refused to admit the ameliorations which were demanded, but sought to abolish parliaments, and to raise taxes by the prerogative. It is a miserable plea which his apologists urge when they represent him as standing on the old ways of the monarchy—maintaining simply what had been conceded to his predecessors. The plea is as untrue as it is unsatisfactory. It is disproved by our history, and was happily spurned by the men of his own day.

The sketch given of the character of Cromwell is amongst the least satisfactory portions of this volume. We are not amongst his worshippers. We have no idea of his being the faultless hero whom Carlyle paints. For a season *the many* may be taken by this notion, but the public judgment will settle down into something short of it. Carlyle's theory we regard but as a natural reaction. One extreme has generated another, and the truth lies between them. 'The Hero-worshipper,' however, has done good service by shaming out of countenance a hundred calumnies which were formerly retailed amongst us. Inveterate and habitual hypocrisy was one of these, and we had hoped the time was past when a writer of any mark would risk his reputation on such a charge. It may be so with our own countrymen,

but, whencesoever it arises, the case is different with M. Guizot. He retails the coarse and vulgar slander, and that, too, with all the air of an admitted truth. We wonder much at this, and should be glad to attribute it to ignorance of the noble monument which Mr. Carlyle's industry has raised to Cromwell's fame. His 'Letters and Speeches' are his best vindication, but even these will not suffice to shield him from some of the worst charges to which humanity is liable. 'The cool and inexhaustible mendacity,' referred to in the following passage, had no existence in the character of Cromwell:—

'The fervour of religious conviction and religious liberty had degenerated in some sects into an arrogant aggressive fanaticism, intractable to all authority, and delighting only in outbursts of intellectual licentiousness and spiritual pride. Civil war had converted these sectarians into soldiers, at once disputatious and devoted, enthusiastic and disciplined. Having risen in general from the humbler classes and professions, they greedily relished the pleasure of commanding and predominating over others; they exulted in the belief that they were the chosen and powerful instruments of God's will and judgments on earth. By alternately appealing to religious and democratic enthusiasm, and enforcing military discipline, Cromwell had gained the confidence of these men, and had become their leader. He had spent his youth in the excesses of an ungovernable temperament, which was succeeded by fits of ardent and restless piety, and by active services rendered to the people among whom he lived. As soon as a political and warlike career opened before him, he rushed headlong into it, as the only one in which he could find room for the employment of his powers and the satisfaction of his passions. He was the most vehement of sectaries, the most active of revolutionists, the ablest of soldiers; ready alike to speak, to pray, to conspire, and to fight; at one time pouring out his thoughts with a warmth and frankness that carried away his hearers; and, in case of need, playing the hypocrite with a cool and inexhaustible mendacity, and a fertility of invention, which surprised and perplexed even his enemies; enthusiastic yet worldly, rash yet perspicacious, mystical yet practical, he set no bounds to the soarings of his imagination, and he felt no scruples in perpetrating any act which the necessity of the case enjoined; determined on success at all costs, discerning and seizing with matchless promptitude the means necessary to obtain it, and impressing on all, whether friends or foes, the conviction that he was gifted above all men with the qualities necessary to the vigorous conduct and complete success of an enterprise.'—Pp. 24, 25.

When speaking of his Irish campaign—the great opprobrium of Cromwell—M. Guizot represents him as 'shrinking as little from cruelty in the field as he had done from mendacity in the parliament,' a comparison utterly devoid of historic truth, and which displays more of the bitterness of party spirit, than of an enlightened and truthful view of facts. In other points, more

justice is done to Cromwell. Take, for instance, the following illustration of a feature of his character, in which it would have been well for England if some of our legitimate monarchs had been his equals :—

‘ A stranger to the rancorous passions, the narrow and invincible prejudices, which characterise the sway of factions, it was his desire that all, without distinction of origin or party, Cavaliers and Presbyterians, as well as Republicans, might find protection and security for their civil interests, provided they abstained from political intrigues. The act imposing the oath of fidelity on all Englishmen, under pain of legal disabilities, was abrogated. The administration of justice was once more regular and habitually impartial. Cromwell, as revolutionary general, had gained intelligence and won over adherents from all parties; Cromwell, Protector of the Republic, endeavoured to rally round his government all the higher elements of society. He had too much good sense to desert the friends by whom he had risen to eminence, and to throw himself on the mercy of his former enemies; but a superior instinct taught him that so long as a government is not accepted and sustained by those whom their position, their interests, and their habits render the natural supporters of political order, nothing can be completely organized or firmly established. This impetuous leader of popular innovators manifested the greatest respect for time-hallowed institutions. The sectaries, in their aversion to human learning and aristocratic or royal endowments, sought to destroy the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. Cromwell saved them. Great by nature, and elevated by fortune, he soon acquired a taste for all that was great and lofty in talents and learning, present fame or ancient tradition; he delighted to surround himself with all that was eminent, and to protect it against coarse and vulgar antipathy. In support of this policy, in the maintenance of law and order for all, in the re-establishment of authority and the enforcement of respect, he employed that very army with which he had overthrown so many ancient dignities and powers; though its rigorous discipline and its devotedness to him were barely sufficient to repress the half-extinguished passions which still smouldered in its ranks.’—P. 59.

Of the genuine republicans of that day, the Sidneys, Vanes, Ludlows, Hutchinsons, and Miltons, M. Guizot speaks in terms not far different from those we ourselves should employ. Some of his epithets are uncalled for, and one or two of his criminations are unsustained; but, on the whole, we do not quarrel with him on this point. It is seldom that so much patriotism and lofty virtue have been combined with so utter a want of practical sagacity, and with such an obstinate adherence to forms, to the obvious danger of the spirit of liberty. ‘ They were men of lofty spirits and proud hearts, full of noble ambition for their country and for mankind; but so injudicious and so insanely proud, that they learned nothing either from power or from defeat. Credulous as childhood, and obstinate as age; blinded by hope

to their perils and their faults; they were, while preparing the way by their own anarchical tyranny for a more consistent and a more powerful tyranny, persuaded that they were founding the freest and most glorious of governments.' Though not disposed to question the general accuracy of this sketch, we must express our strong dissent from the view given of the policy of this party in the execution of Charles I. So far from the death of the king having resulted from their determination 'to consecrate the republic on the scaffold of Charles I.,' we believe that Cromwell, whom our author specially refers to, was honestly concerned to preserve the king; that he did all in his power to compass this end; and would probably have succeeded, had not the duplicity of Charles baffled all his plans, and compelled him at length to leave the monarch to his fate.

It may have suited the purpose of royalist pamphleteers and courtly priests, to represent the Protector as scheming for the death of the king; but history discloses a different fact. If there is truth in its disclosures, Cromwell sought to save Charles, and was prevented from doing so by his incorrigible duplicity. To have persisted longer would have been to involve himself in the fate from which he sought to rescue the king.

M. Guizot applauds the 'good sense' of the English people, and attributes to it the most important facts of our history. There is much truth in his theory on this point, and it constitutes an honourable feature of our national character. The Anglo-Saxon may want the impulsive temperament and quick susceptibility of his French neighbour, but history shows that he has other qualities which more than atone for this deficiency. On the death of Cromwell, his son Richard succeeded to the Protectorship, but it was soon evident that the master spirit was withdrawn. Richard was unequal to the post, and the anomalous character of his office failed to array around him the hereditary loyalty of the people. The nation was both scandalized and alarmed at what ensued. They had submitted to the dictatorship of Cromwell through admiration of his great talents, and fear of his power. But when the military constituted itself the executive, the veil which had concealed the unconstitutional character of the Protector's government was rudely torn aside, and Englishmen began to feel that they were threatened with a tyranny even more execrable than that of the Stuarts. They rallied, therefore, to the maintenance of law against the sword. Their first movements were tremulous and fearful, but all thoughtful men perceived that a crisis had arrived, and the royalists began to look up with hope. In this critical state of affairs the memory of the great man recently withdrawn operated as a spell.

‘It was,’ says our author, ‘the memory of Cromwell which even now held the royalist party in a state of fear and inaction. He had so often frustrated their hopes, and had crushed their plots and their risings with so rude a hand, that they had lost all confidence in the success of their projects. Moreover, their long reverses had taught them good sense. They had learned not to take their wishes for the measure of their powers; and to understand that, if Charles Stuart was to regain the crown, it could only be by the general will and act of England, not by an insurrection of Cavaliers.’—P. 74.

The part acted by Monk is well known. It is written in our history, and has consigned his memory to contempt. M. Guizot sketches his character too favourably, yet confesses that ‘he was absolutely indifferent to truth or falsehood.’ A more despicable name does not occur in our annals, and yet the men who declaim against the duplicity of Cromwell can speak with respect of this arch-dissembler.

Clarendon was the first minister of the Restoration, and his rule was severe and intolerant, as his temper was imperious. We are not surprised that his character is favourably drawn by the ex-Minister. There are points of analogy between Clarendon and M. Guizot, which may well serve to propitiate the latter. Proud and unbending, full of contempt for inferior intellects, and inaccessible to the meaner vices of their class, irreproachable in private life, but wedded heart and soul to a policy which, under the appearance of freedom, was thoroughly despotic and corrupt; at once the ruler and the tool of an unprincipled king; unforgiving in temper, and haughty in deportment; they are alike the impersonation of many of the most dangerous qualities which can inhere in a statesman. The following is the account which M. Guizot gives of the causes of Clarendon’s fall, and its general accuracy cannot be questioned:—

‘Clarendon’s fall has been attributed to the defects of his character, and to some mistakes or failures in his policy abroad and at home. Those who judge thus underrate the magnitude of the causes which determine the fate of eminent statesmen. Providence, which imposes so rude a task upon them, does not regard a few weaknesses, failures, or errors, with such inexorable rigour as to visit them with a total overthrow. Other great ministers, such as Richelieu, Mazarin, or Walpole, had as great defects as Clarendon, and committed faults at least as serious as his. But they understood the times in which they lived; the views and objects of their policy were in harmony with the wants, the condition, and the general tendency of the public mind. Clarendon, on the contrary, mistook the character of his age; he misconstrued the import of the great events which he had witnessed. He considered what had passed from 1640 to 1660 as a revolt, the suppression of which had left the government nothing to do but to re-establish law and order; he did not perceive that it was a revolution which had

not only hurried the English people into fatal disorders, but had stamped a new political character on the country, and imposed new rules of conduct on the restored monarchy. Amongst the great results which this revolution had bequeathed to England, Clarendon accepted with sincerity the indispensable concurrence of Parliament in the government of the country, and, with joy, the triumph of Protestantism. But he obstinately rejected and opposed the growing influence of the House of Commons, and could not employ, or even understand, the means by which it might be made to ensure the safety, and add to the strength, of the monarchy. This was one of those radical mistakes for which the rarest talents or even virtues cannot atone, and which render faults or reverses, otherwise unimportant, fatal to public men.' —Pp. 91—93.

The same rare sagacity which had preserved the nation from military despotism and anarchy, in 1660, was strikingly visible on the final expulsion of the Stuarts. The reign of Charles II. had witnessed the alternate rise and fall of the popular tide. Party spirit was at its height, and each faction was driven to extremes in the advocacy of its views. The temper of the nation was exasperated; and Tories on the one side, and Whigs on the other, spoke the language of political serfdom, or of republican liberty. During the brief reign of his brother James, the scale inclined to absolutism; and the block and the gibbet were busy in completing what the soldiery had left unfinished. Yet, notwithstanding the bitter and relentless hostility which had prevailed for years, all parties, save the Roman Catholic, united to compass the revolution which, with all its defects, is one of the most signal triumphs of constitutional liberty over absolute power recorded by history. Speaking of the confederacy against James, M. Guizot says:—

'Still there was no violent outbreak, and the country remained motionless; but its leading men changed their resolutions. The Church of England, goaded to extremity, entered on a system of positive resistance; the political parties, Whigs and Tories, concurred in a more decisive step. The Whigs had been taught by experience that they alone could neither rally the nation nor establish a government. Their conspiracies had been as unsuccessful as their cabinets. They had now the rare wisdom to perceive that they were of themselves insufficient to accomplish their own designs, and that an intimate union with their former adversaries was the only means of securing their success. The Tories, on the other hand, saw that every principle has its limits, every engagement and every duty its conditions. For forty years they had upheld the maxims of non-resistance to the Crown, and observed a punctilious fidelity to their kings. Placed in new circumstances, and subjected to a new trial, they felt that their country too had a claim on their fidelity; and that they were not bound by consistency to make a servile surrender of their liberties

and faith to a prince inaccessible to reason. The most eminent men of both parties, Russell, Sidney, and Cavendish for the Whigs, Danby, Shrewsbury, and Lumley for the Tories, laid aside their divisions, and determined to act in concert. Halifax, the leader of the intermediate party, when sounded by them, declined all active participation in their design, but did not dissuade them from it.—P. 112.

We can make room only for one more extract, in which our author touches on a point that has recently engaged much attention. Mr. Macaulay's historical labours have brought out the character of the Prince of Orange with more distinctness than had previously been done. His sketch is evidently by a friendly hand, but the likeness is substantially preserved; and we are glad to find that little difference is observable between the portrait drawn by the English Whig, and by the French ex-Minister. History has not done justice to William. His personal qualities were unattractive; while his attachment to his Dutch officers, and the prominence he gave to Continental politics, rendered both him and his government unpopular. The following is the sketch furnished by M. Guizot:—

'William was an ambitious prince. It is puerile to believe that, up to the moment of the appeal sent to him from London in 1688, he had been insensible to the desire of mounting the throne of England, or ignorant of the schemes which had long been laid for raising him to it. William followed the progress of these schemes step by step; though he took no part in the means, he did not reject the end; and, without directly encouraging, he protected its authors. His ambition was ennobled by the greatness and justice of the cause to which it was attached; the cause of religious liberty and of the balance of power in Europe. Never did man make a vast political design more exclusively the thought and purpose of his life than William did. The work which he accomplished on the field or in the cabinet was his passion; his own aggrandizement was but the means to that end. Whatever were his views on the crown of England, he never attempted to realize them by violence and disorder. To his well-regulated and lofty mind the inherent vice and degrading consequences of such means were obvious and revolting. But when the career was opened to him by England herself, he did not suffer himself to be deterred from entering on it by the scruples of a private man; he wished his cause to prevail, and he wished to reap the honour of the triumph. Rare and glorious mixture of worldly ability and Christian faith, of personal ambition and devotion to public ends!—P. 136.

We have done enough to attract our readers to the perusal of this historical treatise. Its rich and glowing pages will amply repay them, whatever they may think of some of the views propounded. Such as are interested—and every Englishman should be so—in the eventful period treated of, will do well

to study the vivid and brilliant lights in which some of its most prominent events and actors are here presented.

We are glad to perceive that Mr. Murray has brought out a cheap edition of the work, in which Mrs. Austin is announced as the translator. This is as it should be. It would be idle to speak of the competency of Mrs. Austin; and a discerning public will not risk the accuracy of their version by substituting any other, in the place of her translation.

ART. X.—1. *The Great Gorham Case: a History; in Five Books. Including divers Expositions of the Rival Baptismal Theories.* By a Looker-on. With a Preface by John Search. London: Partridge and Oakey.

2. *Gorham versus the Bishop of Exeter; a full Report of the Arguments of Council in this important Case, before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council; to which is added the Judgment.* London: W. E. Painter.

3. *The Final Appeal in Matters of Faith; a Sermon preached in St. George's Catholic Church, Southwark, on Sunday, the 17th of March, 1850.* By the Right Rev. N. Wiseman, Bishop of Melipotamus, V.A.L. London: Thomas Richardson and Son.

4. *A Letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, from the Bishop of Exeter.* London: Murray.

5. *Substance of a Speech delivered before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, on Monday the 17th, and Tuesday the 18th of December, A.D. 1849, upon an Appeal in a Cause of Duplex Querela, between the Rev. George Cornelius Gorham, Clerk, Appellant, and the Right Rev. Henry, Lord Bishop of Exeter, Respondent. With an Introduction.* By Edward Badeley, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., Barrister-at-law. London: John Murray.

6. *A Letter to the Hon. Richard Cavendish, on the recent Judgment of the Court of Appeal, as affecting the Doctrine of the Church.* By Julius Charles Hare, M.A., Archdeacon of Lewes. London: Parker.

THE alarm-cry of the 'Church in Danger' has been so often repeated in the ears of society, and so often falsified in its expe-

rience, that it has now fairly lost its effect, and falls upon the ear with the unemphatic coldness of an empty form of words. Whenever religious freedom has been extended by Acts of Parliament; whenever the distribution of ecclesiastical funds has been examined; whenever one of the numberless corruptions of the Anglican Church has been proposed for revision;—in all such cases, from the Catholic Relief Bill to the closing of an ecclesiastical cholera depôt in the middle of our streets, the whole country has echoed with the cry. Hitherto its meaning has been, that the emoluments of the Church were in danger,—these having been, by a very natural metonymy, identified with the Church itself.

At the present time the case is exactly reversed. At length, what is called in common parlance, 'The Church,' meaning (as it is consolatory to remember) only the Anglican Establishment, is assuredly in the most imminent danger, but scarcely a cry is heard. Beneath the shadow of this peril, the posture of the hierarchy resembles that of the bird under the glare of the basilisk; none peep, nor mutter, nor move the wing, save, indeed, a single dignitary, who, over the Lord Mayor's wine, lately declared his confidence, 'that the Church had no more to fear from the conflict raging within and around her, than St. Paul's Cathedral in a thunder-storm.'

But the cause of this ominous calm is not to be sought solely in the imminence of the peril; but rather in the fact, that it is not the money interests of the Establishment, not the Pactolian sands of deans and chapters, nor the rich periodic flush of renewal fines on bishops' leases, that are primarily endangered. It is merely the doctrines that are invaded; vital and fundamental, it is true, but mere doctrines still. Nothing but evangelical truth is at stake.

That this, however, is a grand crisis in the history of the Anglican Church, none affect to deny. It is proved by the flood of publications with which the press is daily teeming, addressing the contending parties with every variety of encouragement, warning, and reproach. Indeed, it is not the least impressive feature of the case that the public and political press, through all its daily and weekly organs, is perpetually ventilating the subject, and carrying the controversy into every counting-house, and almost every cottage in the realm. This constitutes a marked distinction of the present case, as compared with former theological disputes. Heretofore they have been chiefly left to the clergy, and the laity have been content to await and abide by the issue. But at length society at large is drawn into, and almost compelled to take part in the discussion; and the questions successively submitted to the Court of Arches, and the Judicial Committee of the Queen's Privy Council, are reheard at every table and fire-side, save where, through difference of opinion and

intense excitement of feeling, it is a prohibited subject, as interfering with domestic peace.

The first and most obvious effect of this is to disturb that supine and unquestioning confidence with which the laity of the Church of England have been accustomed to acquiesce in its doctrines and its rites. They have been taught from infancy that the formularies with which they are familiar were designed to insure uniformity of doctrine and practice; and that this design was generally realized, has been, with a large majority, an article of unreasoning faith. They have heard, indeed, of one being a High and another a Low Churchman; but the bulk of society have hitherto regarded this as little else than a scholastic distinction, which need not impose upon them the unwonted labour of thinking, and in no degree impaired the plenary authority of the Church. This somnolent faith, however, has been effectually disturbed by recent events. A slight rent in the vail, occasioned by a doctrinal dispute between the Bishop of Exeter and one of the clergymen of his diocese, has occasioned some startling revelations. We now find, that under the semblance of conformity and order, there exist in the Church all the discrepancies of doctrine which prevail without, all the elements of heresy, schism, and internecine strife. This state of things has, indeed, long been patent enough to intelligent Nonconformists; but to the bulk of Churchmen, and to that large majority of society who are altogether indifferent to religious truth, it was a startling disclosure. It is now manifest to all that the pretended unity of the Anglican Church is an enormous sham; that the solemn declaration on the part of every clergyman, of his assent and consent to everything contained in the Book of Common Prayer, is a mockery and a cheat; that the dishonour of mental reservation is not confined to the Jesuits; and that the Articles themselves, in spite of the injunction that 'no man shall put his own sense or comment to be the meaning of the article, but shall take it in the literal and grammatical sense,' are about as well suited to secure unity of faith in the Church as the golden apple was to preserve the peace of Olympus.

No attentive student of ecclesiastical history can have failed to mark the tendency of mankind, in all ages, to substitute forms for doctrines—a ritual for a spiritual religion. When a ceremonial religion existed by Divine authority, men lost sight of its spirit amidst the rigid performance of its rites, and incurred the condemnation of hypocrisy. So, when the spiritual and final dispensation was published, the disposition to recur to abolished forms, or to substitute new ones in their room, inflicted the severest injury on the nascent religion, and, through all subsequent ages, has been more effectual in retarding its progress

than all other causes combined. Hence, throughout the times of papal domination, nought of religion existed, save the external observances performed in its name. The Scriptures were garbled and suppressed. Its mysteries and its miracles were degraded into absurdities and fraud; costume, genuflexion, and grimace, were substituted for worship; and that vital spirit, which in earlier and purer days had promised to pervade and subdue mankind, was materialized into a worthless form, and tricked out by the legerdemain of priestcraft into the contemptible harlequinade of an *opus operatum*. Too well did that impious system, which transferred the care of religion from the people to the priest, suit the mental indolence, the indifference, and the carnality of mankind. 'The vital energy of the Church had fled; the feeble remains of life were extinguished; and she lay a putrid corpse, a public nuisance, filling the air with pestilential exhalations.'*

It is at once surprising and distressing to observe how little was effected to remedy these evils by the boasted Reformation, which originated the Anglican Church. Too truly, as it has recently been held and demonstrated, alike by bishops, laywers, and judges, the formularies of that Church were adapted to a semi-Popish community, and directly designed to invite and include the greatest number of such persons within its pale. A careful and fair examination of them will establish the fact, that there is scarcely a single error of Roman Catholicism which they do not, in one part or another, explicitly affirm. For example—1. Power to confer spiritual gifts, by virtue of apostolical descent: 'Receive the Holy Ghost for the office and work of a priest in the Church of God, now committed to thee by the imposition of our hands;—whose sins thou dost forgive, they are forgiven; and whose sins thou dost retain, they are retained.'† 2. Sacramental efficacy: 'By Baptism—wherein I was made a member of Christ, the child of God, and an inheritor of the kingdom of heaven.'‡ 3. The doctrine of the real presence: 'The body and blood of Christ, which are

* Robert Hall. Review of 'Zeal without Innovation.'

† 'Why should we talk so much of an Establishment, and so little of an Apostolical succession? Why should we not seriously endeavour to impress our people with the plain truth that, by separating themselves from our communion, they separate themselves from the only Church in this realm which has a right to be quite sure that she has the *Lord's body to give to his people*?'—*Tract IV.* p. 5.

‡ On this point, the following citations are culled from the Oxford Tracts: 'This may even be set down as the essence of sectarian doctrine—to consider faith, and not the sacraments, as the instrument of justification.' 'The sacraments, not preaching, are the sources of divine grace.' This, then, is the characteristic mark of these two sacraments, that they are the only justifying rites or instruments of communicating the atonement.

verily and indeed taken and received by the faithful in the Lord's Supper.'* 4. Absolution: 'By his (our Lord Jesus Christ's) authority committed to me, I absolve thee from all thy sins, in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.' 5. Infallibility: 'The Church hath power to *decree* rites and ceremonies, and *authority* in controversies of faith.' 6. No salvation out of the pale of the Church: 'We therefore commit his body to the ground, in sure and certain hope of the resurrection to eternal life'—a charitable declaration refused by the Church to all who have not been christened.

Nor are the practices of Romish superstition less retained than the doctrines. Thus the invocation of saints and angels is perpetuated in the 'Te Deum:'—'Oh Ananias, Azarias, and Misael! Bless ye the Lord.' The inclination of the body at the mention of the name of our Lord is now not even confined to the repetition of the Creeds, but, in imitation of the Romish priests, is scrupulously observed by many of the clergy whenever in their sermons they pronounce the name of Jesus. By many, too, the practice of private confession is encouraged. At our university colleges, a prayer for the soul of the founder is still said on commemoration days. The communion-table is Romanized into the altar, and candles upon it are allowed by the present Bishop of London, though with the proviso that they shall not be lighted—an economical arrangement which probably originates in the instinctive parsimony of a man of extremely limited means.

It may be urged, it is true, that some of these Romish errors are expressly guarded against in the Articles. Undoubtedly they are. And this only illustrates the deep Jesuitical artifice in which the whole system of the Anglican Church is based—admitting those who hold the most opposite tenets to a Church which professes a nominal uniformity of belief; while the concentration of so large a proportion of the Popery into the Catechism—the part designed for children, would seem to proceed upon the principle of Celsus: 'Fiat experimentum in corpore vili!'

From the retention of so much of Romish heresy and superstition in the ritual and services of the Anglican Church, from the thinness of the partition which divides the two, and from the apeing of the old *régime* in the pretensions, the costume, and the gestures of the clergy, two things might naturally be

* 'His flesh and blood in the sacrament shall give life; because they are the *very flesh and blood* which were given and asked for the life of the world, and are given to those for whom they had been given.'—*Dr. Pusey's Sermon*, p. 20.

expected. The first is, that the clergy would be prepared to embrace either of the two religions as might be best suited to their outward interests; and the second, that the effects of the ministration of the Romish and the Anglican hierarchy on the popular mind should be substantially similar: and these expectations are abundantly confirmed by the uniform tendency of modern history. Thus it was by no means difficult for those who had heretofore been Papists, to enlist under the unsullied banner of the eighth Henry, the first *fidei defensor* — the English father of the faithful. Alike easy was it for them to adopt the modifications effected under Edward the Sixth; but no sooner did his successor, Queen Mary, re-establish Popery, than the great body of the clergy embraced afresh the 'damnable heresy;' and no sooner again did her successor, Queen Elizabeth, re-establish Protestantism, than the same individuals re-embraced those tenets. Nor, in our opinion, is there any reason to doubt that if Popery were in the course of the present year to be proclaimed the established religion of Great Britain, nine-tenths of the Protestant clergy would transfer their allegiance, and retain their benefices. Considerable numbers are continually crossing the frontier, and the borderers on that frontier have become so numerous that the mere necessity of comprehending them under a designation has brought into use the term Anglo-Catholic. Nor is the second supposition less verified by historical fact. The effects produced by the ministrations of the two Churches have been substantially similar. Until the day of Whitfield and Wesley, the religious ignorance, torpor, and superstition of the great mass of the British population was as entire as that which brooded over Europe during the period of suspended spiritual animation, from the fall of Rome, to the revival of letters. Nay, even to this moment, the case is much the same, especially throughout the less populous districts of the empire. The teachings from the pulpit inculcate only the decent observance of external morality, and religion, properly so called, is regarded by the multitude as the care of the parson rather than of the people, and only to be transacted in those sacerdotal offices which the crafty policy of the Church has spread over the entire period of life, and made to touch the secular as well as the spiritual interests of man from the cradle to the grave.

The cultivation of Christian knowledge by the elucidation of Scripture, is a matter of which the rural laity are rarely reminded. The doctrine is the parson's business. The laity have only to eschew the conventicle, come to church, say their prayers, and see that their children learn the Catechism. Even the Bible itself would seem to be held in these days as a thing in which

the multitude have but a secondary interest ; for in the recent pleadings on the Gorham case it has been boldly maintained, with a view to screen the Low-Church party from the charge of perjury in solemnly assenting to every thing contained in the Book of Common Prayer, that the Articles were the rule of faith to the clergy, and the Prayer-Book to the laity.

Until lately, this clerical rural police have lived and died as unheard and unseen by the world, and even by one another, as coral insects by their fellow-labourers on the opposite side of a reef in the Pacific. The Castle of Indolence might seem to have been the imaginary head-quarters of the Anglo-Romanists ; nothing could have been more even than the tenor of their days—the walk or the ride, the trout or the pheasant, according to the season, the coursing of a brace of hares and the committal of a brace of poachers, varied perchance by a pauper funeral, then the dinner, and the nap over the ‘ John Bull.’ Such for a century or two has been the unobtrusive life of our rural evangelists ; until, of late, some over-curious physiologists have asserted that the ecclesiastical carcass had a soul ; that the Church had been merely in a state of hybernation, coiled in a lengthened sleep, and subsisting on its own fat ; and the Ithuriel touch of these reverend doctrinaires has seemed not so much to disclose, as to summon into existence thousands of unsuspected creatures endued with all the petty activity of those insects, who, but yesterday in the chrysalis, now assert their vitality by flying into the eye. We venture to say, that the first impression made on an intelligent reader by a statement of the probable numbers of the Tractarian party is one of surprise that there should be so many clergymen in existence. The words of a late illustrious writer in a contribution to this Review, written many years ago, come to be verified afresh in the returning cycle of ecclesiastical history : ‘ Creatures which we did not suspect to have existed, have come forth from their retreats, some soaring into the regions of impiety on vigorous pinions, others crawling on the earth with a slow and sluggish motion, only to be tracked through the filthy slime of their impurities.’

There are two grounds on which this newly-developed energy may be accounted for. The one is the activity naturally put forth of late through the mere expansive power of that Evangelical religion which undoubtedly resides in a section, and that we trust not a small one, of the Anglican Church. In spite of the opposing efforts of bishops and dignitaries, a great variety of efforts have been originated and sustained by the Evangelical party in the Church for the conversion of mankind. These holy enterprises in the midst of persecution and contempt, the ‘ heavens have conspired to nourish ;’ and per-

haps the successful activity of Christian men in that Church may have shamed the *ignavum pecus* of the Establishment into a conviction that they must either exert themselves, or be driven from the hive. Or, secondly, they may have felt that the advancing tide of popular intelligence was threatening their inaction by its depth and strength; and that in whatever direction, whether for the re-enactment of torpid and superstitious rites, or for the more strenuous inculcation of a mystic creed, something must absolutely be done. However this may be, certain it is that a new element of vitality has been infused into the inert mass of the British clergy, of which the Oxford Tracts and one or two episcopal charges appear to have been the proximate stimuli.

Novel as this activity on the part of the clergy may be, there is nothing new in the doctrines on which they insist in opposition to their brethren. They are the same which they have preached in their sleep for generations; and the more vigorous assertion of them is only occasioned by the abnormal demonstrations of their Evangelical brethren. Amidst this turmoil, it is not unnatural that the matter in dispute should speedily assume a judicial form; nor is it at all remarkable that the *venue* should be laid in the diocese of Exeter. The case is simply this—a clergyman is presented to a living in the county of Devon; he had written with distinctness against the Tractarian heresy; the bishop refuses to institute him without an examination. The opinions of the candidate elicited by the examination confirm the bishop in his foregone conclusion; and the candidate appeals against his diocesan to an Ecclesiastical Court. The court decides in favour of the Bishop, upon which the presentee appeals again to the supreme and final jurisdiction of the Privy Council, who decide in his favour, reversing the judgment of the court below. As the arguments before the two courts were mainly similar, we will endeavour briefly to state them without distinguishing the pleadings on the two trials. The question at issue was, whether or not regeneration, the remission of original sin, and the inde-feasible title to salvation (barring actual transgression), is secured in and by the baptism of infants in the Anglican Church. Now, it is to be remembered, that both parties in this controversy admit that the final appeal lies to the Articles and Offices of the Church of England. Each had repeatedly and solemnly declared that he believed *ex animo* every thing contained in the Book of Common Prayer, as involving nothing contrary to Scripture. But it is impossible for any unprejudiced reader of Mr. Gorham's examination not to perceive that when the language of the Prayer-Book is made the matter of a direct inquiry by the Bishop, his answers betray a hesitancy and tortuosity, which it is impossible to reconcile with the opinion that he

cordially receives the documents in question. For example, the 5th, 6th, and 7th questions of the Bishop, which, in fact, comprehend the whole matter at issue, are in the following terms:—

‘QUESTION V.—Does our Church hold, and do you hold, that every infant baptized by a lawful minister, with water, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, is made by God, in such baptism, a member of Christ, the child of God, and an inheritor of the kingdom of heaven?’

‘QUESTION VI.—Does our Church hold, and do you hold, that such children, by the laver of regeneration in baptism, are received into the number of the children of God, and heirs of everlasting life?’

‘QUESTION VII.—Does our Church hold, and do you hold, that all infants, so baptized, are born again of water and of the Holy Ghost?’—*Sir H. J. Fust's Judgment*, p. 27.

To this Mr. Gorham replies:—

‘ANSWERS 5, 6, 7.—As these three Questions all imply the same description of Answer, I will discuss them together:—And, generally, I reply, that these propositions, being stated in the precise words of the Ritual Services, or of the Catechism, undoubtedly must be held, by every honest member of the Church, to “contain in them nothing contrary to the word of God, or to sound doctrine, or which a godly man may not with a good conscience use and submit unto, or which is not *fairly defensible* . . . if it shall be allowed such just and favourable construction as in common equity ought to be allowed to all human writings, especially such as are set forth by authority.”—Preface to the Book of Common Prayer.

‘Now the “*just and favourable construction*” of passages like these (occurring in services intended for popular use), which, *taken in their naked verbatim*, might appear to contradict the clearest statements of Scripture, and of the Church herself, must be sought,—chiefly, I., by bringing them into juxtaposition with the precise and dogmatical teaching of the Church in HER EXPLICIT STANDARD OF DOCTRINE, THE THIRTY-NINE ARTICLES;—in the next place, II., by comparing the various parts of her FORMULARIES with each other;—and, collaterally, III., by ascertaining THE VIEWS OF THOSE BY WHOM HER SERVICES WERE REFORMED, AND HER ARTICLES SANCTIONED.’—*Ib.* p. 28.

Upon the latter part of his reply, Sir H. J. Fust observes:—

‘Now this gives rise to a very important question, which was made the subject of able discussion in the course of the argument; namely, Whether the opinions and “views of those by whom the Services were reformed and the Articles sanctioned” can be taken to give a construction to words which, by their import and by their general acceptance, bear a different construction?—Whether the opinion of the individual Reformers can be taken in opposition to those plain and precise declarations which are made in the Formularies?’—*Ib.* p. 29.

On this important point the judgment of the Privy Council was particularly distinct.

As the subject-matter is doctrine, and its application to a particular question, it is material to observe that there were different doctrines or opinions prevailing or under discussion at the times when the Articles and Liturgy were framed, and ultimately made part of the law ; but we are not to be in any way influenced by the particular opinions of the eminent men who propounded or discussed them ; or by the authorities by which they may be supposed to have been influenced ; or by any supposed tendency to give preponderance to Calvinistic or Arminian doctrines. The Articles and Liturgy, as we now have them, must be considered as the FINAL RESULT of the discussion which took place—not the representation of the opinions of any particular men, Calvinistic, Arminian, or any other : but the conclusion which we must presume to have been deduced from a due consideration of all the circumstances of the case, including both the sources from which the declared doctrine was derived and the erroneous opinions which were to be corrected.’—*The Gorham Case*, p. 145.

The Bishop of Exeter takes his stand upon the Articles, the Offices, and the Canons of the Church, and most justly maintains that no man is qualified for ministration in the Anglican Church, or can properly be said even to belong to that Establishment, who does not believe, agreeably to the solemn declaration made by every clergyman, that whatever is contained in the Prayer-Book, is agreeable to the word of God.* Now it has been urged by the counsel for Mr. Gorham, that the Articles formed the code of faith of the Anglican Church ; and the Prayer-Book, what they designate by the very novel phrase, ‘A code of devotion.’ To this it would be sufficient to reply, that both are subscribed, with equally solemn and unexcepting declarations, by every clergyman on taking his orders ; while many of the formularies of the Church are no less expressly doctrinal and didactic than the Articles themselves. This argument was most strongly urged by Mr. Badeley, the counsel for the Bishop of Exeter, in his address to the Privy Council:—

—‘I think, my Lords,’ he observed, ‘that when I find a Form of Prayer authorized and drawn up with the care that ours has been, and authorized as ours is, it is not too much to say, even upon general principles, and without going to any enactment, either of the Legislature or of Convocation, that we are entitled to look to the Book of Common Prayer, and that we are bound to look to it, for formal enunciations of doctrine : and if the Prayers of the Church and the formularies of public worship comprise matters of belief ; if they declare the truths of religion ; if they explain the nature and effects of the Sacraments ; if they teach the duties of faith and of practice ; whether these things are shown by prayers, or by professions, or by exhortations,—the doctrines so expressed are formally and positively authenticated, and

* See Canon 36, Act of Uniformity, and Canons 4 and 5.

by them the Church is bound, and they are to be regarded in this court, as in every court of this realm, as the rule and the law of the Church. My Lords, my learned friend Dr. Addams alluded just now to the Act of Uniformity, and I apprehend that the Act of Uniformity is one upon this very subject the effect of which cannot for a moment be disputed. Here is the Legislature, by a solemn Act, binding the Book of Common Prayer upon the conscience and upon the practice of every clergyman; it requires from him, as a necessary foundation,—as a condition precedent to his exercising the office of public teacher in the congregation, and holding the ministry of any church—that he shall declare his “*unfeigned assent and consent*,” not merely to the *use* (as has been contended on the other side), but “to all and everything contained and prescribed in and by the book entitled ‘The Book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church.’” Is it possible that it can be contended, when the Legislature requires this from a clergyman, as the foundation for his exercising the Office of Pastor of any parish, that those things which are contained in the Prayer-Book are not to be regarded as plain declarations of belief, by the infringement of which he will be violating the duty prescribed by Statute, as well as by the general Ecclesiastical Law of the country? Surely it is impossible to do so; and therefore, if the question stood upon the Statute of Charles II. alone, as giving effect to the matters of doctrine contained in the Book of Common Prayer, I think it would be quite conclusive.’—*Speech*, pp. 12—14.

The Bishop of Exeter then, taking the Articles and Offices to which he has sworn assent, as they must be taken by every honest man, in their plain, grammatical sense, affirms the doctrine of baptismal regeneration as fully as any Roman Catholic could desire; nor, in our judgment, can any other conclusion be arrived at, save by a sophistical and Jesuitical interpretation. In the Catechism, as we have seen, young persons are taught to profess that, in their baptism, they were severally made ‘members of Christ, children of God, and inheritors of the kingdom of heaven.’ Then the rubric, in the Office of Baptism, distinctly lays down, ‘It is certain, by God’s word, that children which are baptized, dying before they commit actual sin, are undoubtedly saved.’ Of all the numerous sophisms and evasions to which this dispute has given rise, there is, perhaps, none more unworthy and flagrant than that adopted by the Privy Council in reference to this passage. ‘This rubric,’ they say in their judgment, ‘does not, like the Article of 1536, say that such children are saved *by baptism*, and nothing is declared as to the case of infants dying without having been baptized.’ Why, let this rubric be compared with the address at the commencement of the Baptismal Service: ‘Dearly beloved, Forasmuch as all men are conceived and born in sin, and that our Saviour Christ saith, None can enter into the kingdom of

God except he be regenerate, and born anew of WATER and the Holy Ghost.' That must, indeed, be a pitiable cause which requires for its support such a palpable juggle as this. Upon the utterance of it by Lord Langdale, in reading the decision of the committee, we are informed, by 'A Quiet Looker-on':—

'One of the *seated* auditors—probably, therefore, some noble and distinguished person—lifted up his hands in earnest protestation against the gloss. 'Nor,' he continues, 'do we wonder at it. What *can* be the meaning of that plain Rubric to any plain man? When the Service is looked at; the prayers noticed; the significance attributed to the Scriptures quoted, fairly weighed; the solemn assertions as to the "effect" of the rite devotionally allowed; what *could* the Rubric be intended to say, but that it was *as baptized*, and *in consequence* of being baptized, and therefore, *by* their baptism, that the children were saved? That this was the *spirit* and *intention* of the Rubric, we have no doubt;—that most persons will admit it to be so, we have nearly none; but still it is possible, on their lordships' principle of admitting "*any sense*" that the statement will bear, or "no more than the form thereof literally and grammatically implies," to make it mean—*nothing*; nothing, that is, in respect to the privilege and benefits of the sacrament, at the conclusion of the Office for the dispensation of which it stands!'—*The Great Gorham Case*, p. 225.

As the Baptismal Service proceeds, we find the following prayer: 'We call upon Thee for this infant, that he, *coming to Thy holy baptism, may receive remission of his sins by spiritual regeneration.*' 'Can words,' says Mr. Badeley, 'be framed more explicit to show the doctrine of regeneration by baptism? Can language show more directly that spiritual regeneration is allowed by means of baptism, "*tanquam per instrumentum*," as the Articles say?*' 'Then,' continues Mr. Badeley, in his acute analysis of this service,—

'We have the prayer for the sanctification of the water, which also strongly expresses the doctrine of Regeneration in Baptism; a prayer for which there is very ancient authority in the Church, as we shall see hereafter.

'"*Regard, we beseech Thee, the supplications of thy congregation; sanctify this water to the mystical washing away of sin, and grant that this child, now to be baptized therein, may receive the fulness of thy grace, and ever remain in the number of thy faithful and elect children.*"

'Of course, the water being to be sanctified for this purpose, the prayer distinctly refers the benefits of Baptism, the reception of grace, and the fulness of that grace, to the fact of the child being duly baptized therein.

'Then occurs the Baptism itself, and afterwards the reception, and signing with the sign of the cross; and what follows?—

*Speech, p. 51.

“*Seeing now that this child is regenerate, and grafted into the body of Christ’s Church, let us give thanks unto Almighty God for these benefits, and with one accord make our prayers unto Him, that this child may lead the rest of his life according to this beginning.*”

‘What can be more clear therefore than this, that inasmuch as the congregation have prayed before, and duly fulfilled the commands of our Lord, and the order of His Church in this respect, the child is regarded by the Church as regenerated *by the mere fact of Baptism?* The prayer was, that that might be the effect, that the child might be regenerated *by being baptized*—it is baptized, and then the Church immediately declares that the infant actually “*is regenerated.*” Is it possible that any thing can more plainly or more positively prove what is the sense entertained by the Church of the effect of this ordinance? If this is not sufficient evidence of her meaning, I know not what can be.

‘But this is not all—for, as if to cut off all possibility of cavilling, and to make the congregation by their own mouths testify this truth, we have lastly the thanksgiving required to be made by them in these words;—

“We yield Thee hearty thanks, most merciful Father, that it hath pleased Thee to regenerate this infant with Thy Holy Spirit, to receive him for Thine own child by adoption, and to incorporate him into Thy Holy Church.”

‘So that there the benefit of regeneration, the benefit of adoption, the benefit of incorporation into the Church, are specified, and, in words which cannot be evaded, directly referred to Baptism, and to Baptism alone; completely tallying with the Articles, which assert that these blessings are conveyed by Baptism, “*tanquam per instrumentum,*” and that the admission of infants to this rite “*cum Christi institutione optime congruat.*”

‘I cannot conceive language more explicit and more precise to put the doctrine of the Church beyond the possibility of doubt.’—Pp. 53, 54.

The certificate of the officiating minister, in cases where public baptism is allowed to those who have been privately baptized, is equally conclusive: ‘I certify you that, in this case, all is well done, and according unto due order, concerning the baptizing of this child, who, being born in original sin and the wrath of God, is now, “by the laver of regeneration in baptism, received into the number of the children of God and heirs of everlasting life.”’ It is in the face of this declaration, that the Judicial Committee think it worth while to observe that the rubric—‘It is certain, by God’s word, that children which are baptized, dying before they commit actual sin, are undoubtedly saved’—does not say that such children are saved by baptism. The Office of Confirmation obviously proceeds upon the same doctrine of baptismal regeneration—the very first prayer in that service commencing with the words, ‘Almighty and Ever-

living God, who has vouchsafed to regenerate these thy servants by water and the Holy Ghost, and hast given unto them forgiveness of all their sins.'

The office of 'Christian Burial,' too, refused as it is to such as have not been baptized, proceeds upon the same assumption as the doctrine of baptismal regeneration. The difference between the forms used in the baptismal and the burial services appears to be this, that the former are repugnant only to religion and theology, the latter to notorious fact; and it is diverting, though not very flattering to popular intelligence, to observe the greater pains taken to explain away the latter absurdities than the former. On this part of the case, we are a little surprised at the ground taken by a 'Quiet Looker-on.' Speaking of the Judicial Committee, he says:—

'In their anxiety to make out the strength of the expressions in the "burial service," in order to sustain the propriety of the principle of "charitable use," they certainly appeared to overstate the case. Churchmen, we think, are entitled to the benefit of the distinction which they recognise when they say that "the sure and certain hope" refers to "*the* resurrection to eternal life"—the distinctive and peculiar doctrine of the faith—and does not express anything "sure and certain" in their views respecting the individual interred. Their lordships, however, after quoting the expression, referred to the prayer in which it is asked, that, "when we depart this life we may rest in Christ, as our hope is this our brother doth," and then added, that "*the hope*" in "*both* places was *the same*." To which statement we heard several mutterings,—"they are no such thing." And we really think that the mutterers were right. We are willing, at least, by the application of their lordships' rule, to take the stronger expression in the impersonal sense, though, grammatically, perhaps, it may be taken otherwise,—and will be so taken, probably, according to the conclusion which an interpreter wishes to establish or avoid.'—*The Great Gorham Case*, p. 224.

The clergy will, doubtless, be greatly obliged to the writer, but we cannot help thinking, that, in this instance, his candour has somewhat imposed upon his usual sagacity. Were this the right interpretation, why should the service be denied to the unbaptized and the suicide? Does the writer believe, that if the case were brought, for the first time, before a hundred intelligent and impartial men, they would find room for the slightest difference of opinion? Indeed, we are convinced, that all honest clergymen adopt the obvious interpretation, and we have ourselves heard them complain of the pain inflicted upon their conscience by the necessity imposed on them of reading the service indiscriminately.

While we are upon this part of the subject, we must notice, in passing, the still more convulsive struggle with which the Bishop

of Exeter seeks to escape from the force of another part of the same service, the intent of which is obviously similar. We doubt if the whole compass of theological controversy exhibits a more paltry and preposterous subterfuge than is found on pages 63—69 of his Letter to the Archbishop. The hypothesis is, that a pest to society has been removed by death to everlasting perdition; and with this full belief, as we are told, the Church declares, ‘Forasmuch as it has pleased Almighty God of *his great mercy* to take *unto himself* the *SOUL* of our *dear Brother*; we *therefore* commit his *BODY* to the ground in sure and certain hope of the resurrection to eternal life!’ And under the same conviction adds, ‘We give thee hearty thanks, for that it hath pleased thee to deliver this, our brother, *out of the miseries* of this sinful world, beseeching thee that it may please thee of thy gracious goodness, shortly to *accomplish the number of thy elect!!*’ All this, we are to be told, involves no declaration, but only an expression of that charitable hope which may, without inconsistency, be entertained in the case of the vilest of mankind!

But to return to the main point of this controversy. Upon the grounds that we have cursorily stated above, the Bishop of Exeter, and with him the orthodox party of the Church of England, hold that the doctrine of baptismal regeneration is the fundamental doctrine of the Anglican Church; and we have no hesitation in avowing our belief that no conclusion in theological controversy can be more plainly and infrangibly demonstrated. Mr. Gorham, while professing fully to admit the authority of the Articles and offices we have quoted, denies the doctrine altogether. He holds that children, being depraved by nature, and as such obnoxious to the wrath of God, are unfit for the sacrament of baptism, and cannot receive it worthily (as it is called) without an antecedent, or, as he terms it, a prevenient act of grace. He is indeed, compelled to admit the rubrical declaration that baptized children dying without actual sin are undoubtedly saved; but this he attributes, not to their baptism, but to the prevenient act of grace, and regards the event of death in such cases as a proof that this prevenient grace has been conferred; and even goes so far as to assert that when the promises are made by the sponsors, and the regeneracy of the child solemnly declared by the priest, and recognised by the congregation in thanksgiving to God, it is ‘*always with an implied co-additional reservation that if these promises be not fulfilled, the blessing is not conferred!*’

It is impossible to imagine anything more directly at variance with the Articles and Prayer-Book, than these doctrines. It is impossible to acquit those who teach them of downright equivocation. In contravention of the royal declaration prefixed to

the Articles, they emphatically 'put their own sense and comment to be the meaning of the article,' and do not 'take it,' as they swear that they do, 'in the literal and grammatical sense.' They interpret the documents which form part of the charter of their orders and ministry, in a non-natural sense; or, in other words, they subscribe and swear to the most solemn avowal with a mental reservation. In so far as this particular question is concerned, there is not a Turk, a Hindoo, or a Chinaman, who might not as consistently subscribe the formularies, and minister at the altars, of the Church of England, as Mr. Gorham. Let us listen, for a moment, to the manly demonstrations of the 'Quiet Looker-on' on the one part, and of the *orthodox* clergy on the other:—

'The Evangelical theory,' says the former, 'is a miserable compromise. We assert this, utterly careless of anything the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council may say or decide in their coming judgment. The advocates of Mr. Gorham, in arguing his appeal, aimed, at last, simply to secure the ratification of this compromise. It was not their object to affirm the *exclusive* truth of the Evangelical interpretation, but to obtain its *legal permissive recognition as one form of opinion with others* which might *all alike be authorized or allowed*. It is terrible to think what, *on their own principles*, this involves—nothing less than the recognition and sanction, *by themselves*, of doctrine regarded as "soul-destroying." Compare with this the following passage, from the speech of Mr. Denison, and ask thyself, O reader, whether this man, be he right or wrong, does not speak and bear himself *like a man*,—and whether it would be possible for any individual, with the Prayer-Book in his hand, to appeal to it *so* in behalf of Mr. Gorham's interpretation,—or whether, if he did, such a mighty mass of the English clergy could be got together to sympathize enthusiastically with such sentiments, or to hail their utterance with "**TREMENDOUS CHEERING?**" It is the judgment of Solomon over again. The Evangelical party are submissively willing for the king's order to come forth—"Let the Prayer-Book be divided, and give half to the one and half to the other." It says, beseechingly, to its elder sister, "Let it be *neither mine nor thine*,"—for such is the meaning of its belonging to both;—Mr. Denison and friends are indignant at the insult, and stand up for the safety and integrity, and the exclusive possession, of their living child. Verily and indeed, *the High Church* "is the Mother thereof!"

"I may be allowed to say in this great assembly, holding in my hand the Book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments, with my finger upon the Catechism and the Offices of Baptism, that all Church education depends upon, and flows from, the Catholic doctrine of Regeneration in Baptism. (*Loud and tremendous cheering.*) We have lived to see what our fathers never saw. We have lived to see it called in question before a Supreme Court of Appeal, a Court not composed necessarily even of professing members of the Church of England—a Court with no spiritual character necessarily attaching to

it,—we have lived to see it called in question, before such a Court as this, whether the Church of England holds, as necessarily and *exclusively true*, the doctrine of the one Catholic and Apostolic Church in respect of the Holy Sacrament of Baptism. In other words, we have lived to see it called in question before a Supreme Court of Appeal, whether the Church of England is or is not a branch of the Church Catholic. We have lived to see a Supreme Court of Appeal asked to declare *not* that *Regeneration in Baptism*, as held always by the Church Catholic, is *not* the doctrine of the Church of England—for *this* nobody has *yet* dared to ask—I say yet, for we know not what may be coming upon us—but *that there is room in the Church of England for this*, and also *for the denial of it*. In other words, we have lived to see it asked of a Supreme Court of Appeal that it should set the seal of its authority upon this—that the Church of England has *no doctrine* of Holy Baptism. *Has anything so revolting been ever, at any other time, attempted to be palmed upon the religious sense of the English people?* (Cheers.) Room for *two* doctrines of the *one* Baptism in the *one* Catholic and Apostolic Church! Why not say, at once, room for ten thousand doctrines? There would be some honesty in that.”—*The Great Gorham Case*, pp. 168—171.

If anything more is wanting to repel the respect and outrage the common sense of thinking men, we have it in the fact that *both of these parties* hold that repentance and faith are the indispensable requisites for this regenerating baptism, and that this requisition is amply fulfilled by the formal promise of the sponsors. It is difficult to hit upon any form of reasoning which can make the absurdity of this scheme more apparent than its simple enunciation makes it to a mind which has the slightest power of reasoning: and hence it is, perhaps, that this enormous absurdity, though daily enacted before our eyes, is so rarely made the subject either of animadversion or ridicule. It may be well, however, in passing, to suggest the following brief considerations to such of our readers as may be disposed to entertain the subject for a moment.

1. Belief being necessarily and solely dependent upon evidence, and independent of all dictation and personal influence, it is simply absurd and wanton trifling for any one to promise (and profane to do so in an act of worship) that an infant, on coming of age, shall believe such or such dogmas. Indeed, it is obvious to reflect (on the supposition that this is not the grossest of all absurdities) what a fatal bar would be placed against all opposition to the false religions of the world, if their votaries would only adopt the system of godfathers and godmothers!
2. The engagements of these functionaries do not, according to the Prayer-Book, comprehend the *repentance* of the baptized infant, though that, no less than faith, is admitted to be an essential to the sacrament.
3. The Bible knows nothing of

either repentance or faith by proxy; and if it did, the infidel might with truth adopt as his motto, the language of the 'Christian Observer:—'The absurdity, the irrational fanaticism, the intellectual drivelling under the absurd name of faith, which dictates such sentiments, must disgust every intelligent man, and make him an infidel, if he is really to believe that Christianity is a system so utterly opposed to common sense.' 4. If such a trust had been committed, by the word of inspiration, to any proxies at all, it would manifestly have been to the parents of the child, and not to the royal or noble personages who 'stand for' the infant Albert, Victoria, or Arthur, of a Marquis, never to be seen again until he or she is presented at court; nor to the rich old gentleman, selected on the probability of a bequest; nor to the substantial tradesman, from whom may be rationally expected a coral and bells, a silver ladle, and a Prayer-Book. 5. If no weight attach to any of these considerations, we might appeal, in the last place, to every day's experience in proof of the inanity of the 'promise and vow,' and the solemn mockery chargeable on the whole transaction. The most devoted servants of sin are those who have been guaranteed by their sponsors to renounce 'the devil and all his works;' the votaries of folly and fashion are those who were pledged to renounce 'the vain pomp and glory of the world;' the hard-hearted slaves of lucre were to have renounced 'its covetous desires,' and the debauchees 'its carnal indulgences.' Yet, in the broad light of these facts and arguments, Mr. Gorham and the Evangelical party on the one hand, and the Bishop of Exeter and the Tractarians on the other, openly maintain that the sponsion of godfathers and godmothers completely fulfils the requirements of repentance and faith, as the condition of the two solemn sacraments by which the Redeemer perpetuates the assertion of his kingly authority in his Church!

But we must hasten to conclude. The question raised by Mr. Gorham has been decided by the highest court of appeal. It would be indecent to hint at the religious opinions of the distinguished persons who constituted that court. Enough is known on this point to convince the Church that if the court were constituted as the representative of the principal sections of the nominally Christian world, the diversity of opinion existing amidst its actual members would constitute it a very suitable tribunal. As if to throw new elements of confusion into this motley assembly, the two Archbishops and the Bishop of London were commanded by the Queen to aid its deliberations, in the character of assessors. Now, whatever exception may be taken against the constitution of this court, it certainly cannot be objected to as unprecedented. While contemplating, in the first

place, the well-known opinions of the episcopal *amici curiæ*, and, secondly, those of their lay lordships, we find a precedent for their constitution, and that of the most venerable antiquity, in the court of Milton's Anarch, in which—

‘CHAOS umpire sits,
And by derision more embroils the fray
By which he reigns; next him, high arbiter,
CHANCE governs all.’

The decision of the Privy Council in favour of Mr. Gorham's institution, opposed only by Vice-Chancellor Knight Bruce, has created, as might have been expected, immense dissatisfaction, which has subsequently vented itself in every decent form, to say the least, of clerical demonstration. The protests of the clergy, however, have been directed almost exclusively against the constitution of the Court of Appeal, as composed of laymen. Now this appears to us exceedingly unreasonable, on the following grounds:—

1. The Archbishop of Canterbury's Court of Arches, whose jurisdiction is universally acknowledged by the Anglican Church, and to which this cause, in common with all inquiries touching heresy and false doctrine, was primarily carried, is presided over by a judge who is as completely a layman, to all intents and purposes, as Lord Brougham or Mr. Baron Parke; while there is this additional objection against it, that while decisions are given in the supreme court by a number of laymen, bearing some analogy to a jury, or to the House of Lords in its judicial capacity, the jurisdiction in the court whose authority is universally admitted, is vested, as in the Courts of Chancery, in a single individual; and, secondly, all protests against the decisions come too late, since the Bishop acknowledged the rightful jurisdiction of both courts, by appearing by his proctors in the one, and his counsel in the other. Had the decision in the Privy Council affirmed that of the court below, instead of reversing it, we should have heard no protest from the High Church party.

The truth is, that the Church has bound itself to the arbitrary jurisdiction of the State by such stringent ties as nothing but a repeal of this unhallowed and pernicious union can sever. On this point, the arguments of Bishop Wiseman (pp. 14—18 of his ‘Sermon’) appears to us absolutely conclusive, and we would gladly transfer them to our pages if our space permitted.

What, then, is the position in which the State places the Church by this important decision. It virtually says to the High Church party, We do not deny that your doctrines are those sanctioned as essential by the Church of England, and we admit

that the formularies recently brought into question were expressly intended to secure uniformity of profession and belief; nevertheless you must institute to livings those who hold doctrines fundamentally opposed to your own—doctrines which you regard as heretical, and destructive of the Catholic faith: stomach this affront as best you may, and console yourselves with your emoluments.

To the Evangelical party in the Church of England, the State, by this decision, virtually says, We are unwilling to pronounce that your views are so repugnant to the doctrines of the Church of England, that we must punish you for maintaining them, by the forfeiture of your livings. We shrink from the odium and turmoil which would be occasioned by such an act. If, therefore, you can retain them with safety to your honour and conscience, do so by all means; protect your salaries, keep yourselves quiet, and let us have no more Mr. Gorhams. Go and sin no more, lest a worse evil come upon you.

To the partizans of the Bishop of Exeter in this contest—to the Tractarians, and the advocates of the doctrine of sacramental efficacy—we have nothing to say. Their rabid excitement needs no stimulus, and admits of no control. The fittest warning to them, if it be not rather the fittest invitation, is conveyed by the Vicar Apostolic of London, in his description of the posture of the Romish Church with relation to the present crisis:—

‘They are watching,’ says he, ‘to see how this structure is able to resist the shocks, not of the power of man, but of that interior element of dissolution, which seems to have begun its work within her, and to be agitating her to and fro to her destruction. They are looking upon all this as men look upon a great judgment that has come down in mighty power from on high. They are looking at it with that interest which a great crisis naturally excites in things of earth, and only subject to human laws; but the end, the destiny of which, is as yet concealed. These various parts of the living Church of Christ can, in fact, only look on the agitated Establishment of this country, as men can do from a firm and lofty shore upon a frail and shattered bark, tossed upon the billows. To save it, and guide it into port, is totally beyond their power: they can only pray for those who are on board, that when it shall break to pieces on the rock, they may be borne, on its fragments, towards the only safe shore, and stand ready, to stretch forth a helping hand to them in that hour. But, as a Church, as a religious body, one which has any claim upon them, they heed it not, they leave it to itself.’—*Final Appeal in Matters of Faith*, p. 33.

To the Evangelical ministers in the Established Church, the advice which we would earnestly offer is conscientiously to ponder the critical and apparently decisive issue to which that question has now been brought, which involves all that they hold

most dear and sacred in their religion ; to decide between their Lord and his word on the one part, and the State and its foundations on the other, and with a calm but resolute spirit to choose ' this day whom they will serve.'

It may be thought that Dissenters as a body, whatever may be their feelings and hopes as Christian men, have little to do with the probably momentous issues of this dispute ; yet even in their associate capacity, some important practical lessons may be learned from this crisis. If it teach them to stand in horror of priestcraft, to eschew formalities, and, especially in their public organs, to fly from that bigotry, uncharitable, and insolent presumption, which they have recently seemed too prone to tolerate, the moral of these eventful times, and of this distressing struggle, will not be lost upon them.

We cannot close without saying that we are glad again to meet our old friend, *John Search*. The times call for him, and he could not have selected a more fitting occasion for his reappearance than that of the Gorham case. His clear perception of theological truth, his pointed and idiomatic English, and his freedom from all mere stereotyped forms of speech and thought, eminently fit him to do good service ; and we hope, now that he has stepped into the arena, that he will bestir himself diligently to do his proper work. His present volume is worthy of his fame. Indeed, the almost picturesque vivacity of its style constitutes it a novelty in the history of polemics, and throws an extraneous interest over the details of this momentous controversy.

Review of the Month.

APRIL commenced with Easter-week. Parliament was up for the holidays. Ministers and members, glad to be released from the cares of office and the obligations of partizanship or patriotism, hastened to improve the few days of relaxation. Lord John Russell wisely accepted the outstanding invitation of a Manchester magnate (Sir Benjamin Heywood) to visit that manufacturing metropolis of England. He was shown over the largest mills and factories, textile and metallic, of the district. Whatever was most wondrous for power or delicacy, or for the combination of both—the ponderous hammer, mightier than the fist of fabled Thor, yet tender as the hand of infancy, that flattened a

mass of iron as though it were clay, or neatly cracked an egg without fracturing its cup; the rough, sharp-toothed 'devil,' tearing to filaments a heap of cotton-wool; and the finely etched cylinder, transferring its impress to the travelling fabric—were exhibited and explained to his admiring lordship, and the ladies whom he had brought with him. But the visit of so exalted a personage could not be allowed to pass over without the display of more than private courtesy. Accordingly, the corporation of Manchester waited upon Lord John with an address complimentary even to adulation. It was proper enough that the First Minister of the Crown should be saluted in language of respect—and more, that the historical associations and personal antecedents of the individual should not be forgotten. Englishmen can never be insensible to the prestige attaching to the name of Russell, however degenerated its present possessor; nor should they, we think, be oblivious of modern services. Wide and irreconcilable as is our quarrel with Whiggery, we have never forgotten what the Whigs, in their better days, achieved for the people. That Lord John Russell was for many years the unwearied, and, at length, successful assailant of religious exclusiveness—and, though perhaps with adulterated motive, of political corruption—is an honour, happily for himself, that even his subsequent offences, neither few nor small, cannot forfeit. Very fairly, therefore, might these Manchester men—owing their political existence, in some sense, to his exertions—tell him that they were neither forgetful nor ungrateful. But to praise him for unswerving consistency—to abstain from the slightest hint at shortcomings, or the gentlest urging to further reforms—was unworthy of themselves and unfaithful to him; an excess of compliment which is an injustice to the complimented; a virtual desertion of the great cause which Manchester is supposed to represent. Why not have reminded his lordship that it was not by timid adherence to established customs, by excess of 'caution' in adopting improvements, but by bold and vigorous pursuit of successful innovation from one stage to another, that the magnificent embodiments of intelligence and industry by which he was surrounded were built up? that though the perfected fabrics, whose wondrous progress from the loom to the dye-vat and the wareroom he intelligently tracked, could be freely exchanged for foreign corn, through an act of legislation to which he was, at least, concurrent, yet every operation was augmented in costliness, every spindle retarded, by an invisible burden in the shape of customs or excise regulations? and, above all, that of the multitudes who crowded around him in decorous silence, or with generous acclamations, not one was enfranchised as a man, a toiler, however industrious, temperate, and frugal—but was only equal, in the eye of the law, to a bale of goods or a spinning-jenny, a thing to be protected from violence and to be taxed for revenue? The men of Salford, however, were more honest in addressing his lordship—expressing fair appreciation of his intentions and performances; but strongly intimating their judgment that much remained to be accomplished, and their hope that he would be equal to such measures as 'the present state of society and the well-being of the people demand.'

It would have been well for Lord John Russell had he learnt from this visit to abate somewhat that aristocratic *hauteur* and dislike to concession, alike in little as in great things, which detracts from his personal popularity, and often brings his Government into undignified dilemmas. The very first night of the resumed session, his Ministry suffered a defeat which might have been easily averted by some such softening down of customary rigidity. The condition of the Assistant Surgeons on board men-of-war has long been a grievance to themselves and their friends. The profession seems to have stirred in the matter; and, after unavailing attempts to get redress from the Admiralty, secured parliamentary assistance. Captain Boldero, therefore, intercepted the Ordnance and Naval Estimates, in a Committee of Supply, by a motion on the subject, which was met by the officials with the paltry objection, that it would be difficult to alter existing arrangements on board ship. That men of liberal education and invaluable services should be subjected to habitual insult and inconvenience to spare officials some little trouble, was justly deemed by the House an impertinence as well as an injustice; and resented by a hostile majority of eight on a meagre division.

The next night a more formidable motion was brought forward, and a more disgraceful defeat virtually sustained, though a nominal victory was achieved. Lord Duncan renewed his annual attempt to abolish that universally detested impost, the window duty. It is a direct tax—that is all which can be said in its favour: easy to collect, impossible to evade, and largely productive. The popular preference for direct taxation is rather theoretical than practical. We like to know what we really do pay, chiefly in the hope that we may thereby reduce its amount. For the same reason, financiers cling to the imperceptible method; though troublesome to raise and irregular in its yield, it does not readily anger an ill-informed people. But the window tax has all the odious features of indirect revenue. It is a duty, burdensome even to prohibition, on the primal necessities of life—the indispensable conditions of healthful, decorous, existence. It is a bounty on darkness, feculence, and fever. It compels a man to pay heavily for the indulgence of sunlight and pure air—as if they were luxurious as tobacco or tea. Thus it is fatally obstructive of sanatory reform; and as such has been denounced by government commissions, Health of Towns' Associations, and medical inspectors; and even pointed out for removal—if there be meaning in words—by the Queen's speech. A tolerably strong muster was therefore made by sanatory and financial reformers on the occasion. In argument, they had no opponents—necessity of revenue was the Chancellor's solitary plea for its retention. The division was 78 to 91. The window tax was within three votes of suffering the fate of the brick duty. Those three votes might have been given by Lord Ashley, Sir Joshua Walmsley, and Mr. George Thompson; but the first could not leave his sick daughter, and the latter two were invoking a reform spirit in Lancashire; or by the three Manchester men, who voted in the majority—Mr. William Brown, Mr. Joseph Brotherton, and Mr.

Heywood. Some of the absent Liberals were induced to leave the House, and thus save the Ministry from defeat, by the promise of repeal next session; and Mr. Brotherton was probably 'come over' by similar means—none other, we believe, would avail with so thoroughly independent, though extremely crotchety, a man. As to whether they were justified in saving the Ministry, at so great a cost to their constituents and the public, we may discuss presently.

The third evening of the week, the County Courts' Bill was the occasion of a far more decided blow to Ministers. The second reading of that beneficial measure, though resisted by the Government, was carried by more than two to one. Proposing to extend the powers of those very useful tribunals—now tested by several years' working, and universally approved by the public; rendering the administration of justice in affairs of debtor and creditor more simple, cheap, and certain—it is hard to conceive the motive to its resistance, except in the influence of interested 'lawyerism' on the Cabinet. Rumour points to the Lord Chancellor as the highest source of that obstructive influence, and as determined to throw out the bill when it reaches the Lords. The probability is, however, that the Premier, above such considerations, leaves these minor matters to his subordinates, and permits them to damage his administrative reputation, and shorten their own tenure of office, by their incapability and perverseness; an illustration similar to that alluded to above, of the mischievous effect on his own statesmanship of his aristocratic carriage—going wrong when not ill-intentioned, through sheer aversion to acting on advice, or to the appearance of concession.

The following Friday, Lord John Russell brought forward a motion for the appointment of a select committee of inquiry into official salaries, with a view to their reduction—a step prompted, no doubt, by several unpleasant recollections of last session, and hastened by Mr. Disraeli's notice of a motion for retrenchment in the diplomatic and consular establishments. That gentleman—unquestionably very clever in tactics as in rhetoric, though he may be neither a statesman nor an orator—was not to be so easily checkmated. He, therefore, interposed with an amendment, to the effect that the House was in possession of sufficient information on the subject at once to act. Supported by the financial reformers, his victory would have been certain and decided. They, however, with a few exceptions—of whom the chief was the veteran Hume, never to be deterred from catching at a chance of economizing—refused their votes, under cover of distrusting the good faith of the Protectionist leader; who suffered, accordingly, a defeat by a majority of ninety-five.

Fickle as an April sky, the House inflicted on the Government, on Monday the 15th, a disagreeable rebuff. In Committee on the Stamp Duties, it came out that the promised reduction would probably prove fallacious, and that as to the landed interest, if one class of proprietors were relieved, it would be at the expense of another. An amendment was proposed, therefore, to reduce the duty on bonds from 2s. 6d. to 1s., which was carried—a severe reflection on the Chancellor's want either of candour or of ability; and altogether so

damaging to the tackle of his unintelligible machine, that he had to beg for a week's delay—the more mortifying, as he had before refused it to another party.

The repeal of the taxes on knowledge was next debated. Little or nothing new was said on the part of their assailants, and as we have written so largely upon them of late, we need add nothing here. Personal piquancies, however, were not wanting. Lord John Russell appeared in a most ungracious character. Not content with the stereotype, official objection of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, he ventured to sneer at 'writers in newspapers' as tolerably equal in venality and virulence;—betraying his irritation at the attacks of 'Jacob Omnium,' in the 'Times,' on Lord Grey, by classing that clever writer with the scribes of Holywell-street. Mr. Disraeli acted worthy of a literateur in voting for the motion; but his party care little for their chief's intellectual idiosyncrasies—the Radicals made no muster; several of them were truant-playing, and others openly deserted—consequently the motion was lost by 101.

This is the proper place to remark on the policy pursued by the 'reform party,'—or, that body, however designated, which professes to be Whig-radical, voting with Messrs. Cobden and Hume, mustering 80 or 90 on great occasions—up to the present point of the session. There is no severity in describing it as systematically truckling to the Ministers, and consequently trifling with the people. At the commencement of the session, when a powerful party insisted on reopening the Free-trade question, it was well enough that those who had been foremost in bringing that great controversy to a legislative settlement, should forget other messages with which they were charged, in their eagerness to declare that on *that* point there should be no retrogression. And when the defeated party, changing their tactics, pleaded, in a threatening tone, to be compensated for what they had surrendered, it was well to show that their plea was known to be pretension, their wrong imaginary, and that their power was defied. But this accomplished, where was the necessity—where the excuse—for remaining stationary? Lord John Russell had the honesty to declare that parliamentary reform—for England, at least—had no place in his sessional programme. Ninety-six members may be supposed to have expressed their displeasure at the omission by voting for Mr. Hume's motion; but why not have followed up that feeble reproach by a formal, indignant, and determined withdrawal of their support from the ministry. Why, in short, was not an extension of the suffrage made the question of the session? Not only has no such consistent and commanding position been taken up—not only has a negative, submissive course been preferred to one of independent action—but positive tergiversation has been committed by many on several occasions. Votes have been given or withheld, not upon the merits of the immediate question, but from a regard to contingent results—a course always dangerous to morality; and those results have been of no loftier order, no larger magnitude, than the inconvenience incident to a change of Ministry—for no one has had the courage to avow his fear of ultimate consequences. Not the restoration of protection, but the formation of a Protectionist cabi-

net, is the spectre that has frightened into timid servility to a Whig government men on whose Radicalism we had reckoned. Lord John Russell's Ministry no longer represents a single popular principle, and is notoriously deficient in administrative capability. It has no popular sympathy to sustain it, and may advantageously be exchanged for some other.

The virtual adoption of Mr. Ewart's Libraries and Museums Bill, and the second debate on Mr. Fox's National Education measure, suggest remarks that may be conveniently strung together. Both imply the right of government to tax its subjects for purposes other than those necessary to the preservation of order, and, therefore, violate our ideal of the State. Both must be attended with more or less of practical mischief, by their inevitable tendency to substitute in the popular mind dependance on governmental aid for that spirit of stern self-dependance which it is the chief aim of intellectual and moral agencies to cherish. Beyond that, Mr. Ewart's bill—especially since the exercise of the power it confers, is restricted to a positive majority of a given district—can do no mischief, and much good; for the utility of the institutions he seeks to establish, it is impossible to overrate. But Mr. Fox's is open to several and serious objections. It gives legislative sanction to the Committee of Privy Council for educational purposes, a body on which we look with a very jealous eye. It arms that court and its stipendiaries with enormous discretionary powers. It recognises a distinction between religious and secular instruction—a distinction difficult to establish and dangerous to act upon. We give full credit to its energetic friends for excellence of intention—we abhor the spirit which actuates and the sentiments avowed by a large class of its opponents; but we cannot fail to rejoice at the probability of its rejection by the House, and earnestly hope the discussion it has excited will unite the friends of enlightened education in a vast, voluntary, unsectarian, effort for its diffusion throughout the country.

To the present position—legal and ecclesiastical—of the great Gorham case, we have adverted elsewhere, and at sufficient length.

Foreign events must be dismissed in a single paragraph. Louis Napoleon's popularity is rapidly on the ebb, especially in the army and the *proletarian* order. Lamartine has delivered a speech on the Avignon Railway bill, indicating, by its eloquent advocacy of private enterprise in preference to government undertaking, the growth of right sentiment in the best minds of the country; and another against transportation for political offences, which proves him still the orator and the humanist. The Erfurth parliament consolidates Germany into an empire—in name, at least; one good fruit of which appears to be an imposing interposition between Schleswig-Holstein and Denmark. Calhoun, the great American statesman, is dead—his high reputation for intellect and personal virtue buried, to the sight of the world, beneath the monument that records his relentless championship of slavery.

A few lines must be devoted, in conclusion, to the Reform Conference, which has been held during the last week in Crosby Hall. The number of delegates was not so great as could be desired, or

perhaps, as was expected; but many of them are known as men who would impart strength to any movement. The attendance of Members of Parliament was gratifying, and not less so the spirit evinced by those gentlemen. Mr. Hume, Mr. Cobden, Mr. Bright, Mr. Roebuck, Colonel Thompson, Mr. J. W. Fox, Mr. Kershaw, Lord Dudley Stuart, Mr. L. Heyworth, and Mr. C. Lushington, renewed their adhesion to the movement so zealously conducted by Sir Joshua Walmsley and Mr. G. Thompson. Mr. George Dawson, Mr. J. H. Parry, Mr. C. Gilpin, and Mr. Tillett, constituted an influential group of not improbably prospective legislators. Mr. Feargus O'Connor and Mr. Thomas Clark answered for the continued support of the Chartist body. A proposition to make the attainment of universal suffrage the object of the organization, was, we are glad to find, decidedly rejected; involving, as it would, a breach of faith towards a considerable section of its supporters. The valuable advice tendered by Messrs. Cobden and Bright, as to the distribution of the power conferred by the Freehold Land Societies, will, doubtless, not be neglected. The resolution to embody the principles and objects of the Association in a Bill, with a view to its introduction into Parliament, we regard as of some importance—far preferable to the annual presentation of Mr. Hume's quadruple motion.

We may add, that the second Triennial Conference of the Anti-state-church Association—which meets on the day that these pages issue from the press—promises to be a large and, in every sense, important gathering. More than 500 delegates will, certainly, be present.

EDITORIAL POSTSCRIPT.

I HAVE been called very unexpectedly to resume the Editorship of this Journal. The circumstances which have induced me to do so, need not be detailed; and it would be equally repugnant to my feelings, and to the requirements of the case, to refer at any length to the malignant and scurrilous attacks of which I have been the subject. It may suit the notions of the Editor of the 'British Banner,' to continue, from week to week, a species of attack hitherto unknown to the religious journalism of Nonconformity; but for myself, I confess to a feeling of such intense disgust at the exhibition he has made, as to be little inclined to dwell upon it. The more discreditable and humiliating

features of human conduct are not those on which I love to gaze. I turn from them with loathing, and look on such as are bright, hopeful, and good. There are occasions, however, on which inclination must yield to duty; and I therefore refer, though only for a moment, to the effort which has been made to destroy this journal, and to damage my reputation. The kindness of the attempt I fully appreciate. It was not in the days of my strength that gross misstatements and insinuations were propagated against me. Had it been so, there would, at any rate, have been a manliness in the effort, whatever might be thought of its charity or righteousness. But it was not so. My assailant knew that my health was broken, that my medical friends insisted on my retirement from public life, and that my ailment was of a character specially requiring freedom from excitement. This he knew, and yet in the exuberance of his charity he could pen the sentences which have disgraced his journal. But enough of this; I thank him for his friendship, and estimate it at its worth.

I shall not condescend to reply to what he has insinuated. In my heart I believe there is no man in the three kingdoms more convinced of its falsity than Dr. Campbell. Below the noisy and frothy surface there are calm waters, and in his better moments, when passion is hushed, even he, I am satisfied, gives me a verdict. That I should have lost his confidence is, doubtless, a terrible calamity. The 'Eclectic' has weathered many storms. During my own editorship it has had its trials, but the term of its existence is at length attained. Be the talent and the scholarship of its contributors what they may; however sound the principles it advocates; however unexceptionable its spirit; however earnest yet pure its zeal; perish it must, for Dr. Campbell has pronounced its doom. He has withdrawn from me his confidence; and what remains, but that I retire, together with my journal, from the fair field of literary enterprise? I can scarcely refrain from laughing outright at the egregious vanity of all this. The frog swelling to the dimensions of the ox is its fitting emblem.

But I must revise my 'list of contributors,' yea, my 'own principles, views, and opinions,' if I would have the confidence of Dr. Campbell; or, according to his notion, that of the Nonconformist body. Well, we shall see. *I do not intend to do either*, and am prepared for the result. Under the loss of my assailant's confidence, I am consoled by the reflection that his judgment, consistency, truthfulness in its higher form, and freedom from the low artifices of journalism, exist in an inverse degree to his uncharitableness, dishonesty, pride, and love of domination. As to the Nonconformist body, they will decide for them-

selves, and I will not do them the injustice which my assailant does. At any rate—and this is enough with me—I should stand degraded in my own esteem, and be consciously unworthy of the confidence of others, if I met the impudent assumption of Dr. Campbell by aught else than contemptuous silence. He has misread my character if he supposes I shall meet his self-imposed dictatorship in any other way.

To my readers I have only to say, What the 'Eclectic' has been during the thirteen years of my editorship, it will continue to be. In principle there will be no change. It will be the same unflinching advocate of ecclesiastical and political progress which it has ever been since 1836; while it will subordinate all other interests to the paramount claims of that remedial economy which has been mercifully vouchsafed to our world. It becomes me, in all frankness, to add, that the exhibition recently furnished, while it deepens my disgust at the uncharitableness and intolerance sometimes veiled under an affected zeal for evangelical truth, will so far influence my conduct as a journalist, as to render the 'Eclectic' more determinately hostile than ever to the coarseness and bigotry, the mental serfdom and religious dictatorship, which are attempted to be advanced amongst us. Though my health requires repose, I shall remain at my post so long as this conflict lasts. The public shall have the means of judging for themselves between me and my assailant, and I have no fear of the verdict that will be pronounced.

THOMAS PRICE.

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